

THE
REHEARSAL
TRANSPROSD;

Or,

Animadversions

Upon a late Book, Intituled;

A PREFACE

SHEWING

*What Grounds there are
of Fears and Jealousies
of Popery.*

The second Edition, corrected.

LONDON, Printed by A. B. for the
Assigns of *John Calvin* and *Theodore*
Beza, at the sign of the Kings Indul-
gence, on the South-side of the *Lake*
Lemane. 1672.

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*Animadversions upon the
Preface to Bishop Bram-
hall's Vindication, &c.*

THe Author of this Preface had first writ a *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Policy*; after that, *A Defence and Continuation of the Ecclesiastical Policy*; and there he concludes his Epistle to the Reader in these words: *But if this be the Penance I must undergo for the wantonness of my Pen, to answer the impertinent and slender Exceptions of every peevish and disingenuous Caviller; Reader, I am reformed from my incontinency of Scribling, and do here heartily bid thee an Eternal Farewel.* Now this Expression lyes open to his own *Dilemma* against the Nonconformists confessing in their prayers to God such heinous Enormities. For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modesty

is all impudent and counterfeit : or, if he will acknowledg it, why then he had been before, and did still remain upon Record, the same wanton and incontinent Scribler.

But however, I hop'd he had been a Clergy-man of Honour, and that when herein the World and he himself were now so fully agreed in the censure of his Writings, he would have kept his word ; or at least that his Pen would not so soon have created us a disturbance of the same nature, and so far manifested how indifferent he is as to the business either of Truth or Eternity. But the Author, alas, instead of his own, was fallen now into *Amaryllus's* Dilemma : (I perceive the Gentleman hath travelled by his remembering *Ci lava la testa al asino perde il sapone*, and therefore hope I may without Pedantry quote the words in her own whining Italian,)

Se il peccar è sì dolce e'l non peccar si necessario,

O trappà imperfetta Natura che ripugna a la Legge.

O troppo dura Legge che Natura offendi:

*If to scribble be so sweet; and not to scribble
be so necessary;*

*O too frail Inclination, that contradi-
dictest Obligation:*

*O too severe Obligation, that offendeſt
Inclination.*

For all his Promise to write no more,
I durſt alwaies have laid Ten pound to
a Crown on Natures ſide. And ac-
cordingly he hath now bleſſed us with,
as he calls it, *A Preface*, ſhewing what
Grounds there are of Fears and Jealouſies
of Papery.

It will not be unpleaſant to hear
him begin his Story. The enſuing Trea-
tiſe of Biſhop Bramhall's being ſomewhat
ſuperannuated, the Bookſeller was very
ſollicitous to have it ſet off with ſome Pre-
face that might recommend it to the Genius
of the Age, and reconcile it to the preſent
Figure of Affairs. A pretty task in-
deed! That is as much as to ſay, To
trick up the good old Biſhop in a yel-
low Coif and a Bulls head, that he

may be fit for the Publick, and appear in Fashion. In the mean time 'tis what I alwayes prefaged: From a Writer of Books, our Author is already dwindled to a Preface-monger, and from Prefaces I am confident he may in a short time be improved to endite Tickets for the Bear-garden. But the Bookseller I see was a cunning Fellow, and knew his Man. For who so proper as a young Priest to sacrifice to the Genius of the Age; yea, though his Conscience were the Offering? And none more ready to nick a juncture of Affairs than a malapert Chaplain; though not one indeed of a hundred but dislocates them in the handling. And yet our Author is very maidenly, and condescends to his Bookseller not without some reluctance, as being, forsooth, first of all *none of the most zealous Patrons of the Press.*

Though he hath so lately forfeited his Credit, yet herein I dare believe him: For the Press hath ought him a shame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay off the Debt. The Press
(that

(that *villanous* Engine) invented much about the same time with the Reformation, that hath done more mischief to the Discipline of our Church, than all the Doctrine can make amends for. 'Twas an happy time when all Learning was in Manuscript, and some little Officer, like our Author, did keep the Keys of the Library. When the Clergy needed no more knowledg than to read the Liturgy, and the Laity no more Clerkship than to save them from Hanging. But now, since Printing came into the World, such is the mischief, that a Man cannot write a Book but presently he is answered. Could the Press but once be conjured to obey only an *Imprimatur*, our Author might not disdain *perhaps* to be one of its most zealous Patrons. There have been wayes found out to banish Ministers, to fine not only the People, but even the Grounds and Fields where they assembled in Conventicles: But no Art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of Letters. Two or three brawny Fellows in a Corner, with meer Ink and

Elbow-grease, do more harm than an hundred Systematical Divines with their *sweaty Preaching*. And, which is a strange thing, the very Sponges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole Book, and were antiently used to that purpose, are become now the Instruments to make things legible. Their ugly Printing-Letters, that look but like so many rotten-Teeth, How oft have they been pull'd out by B. and L. the Publick-Tooth-drawers! and yet these rascally Operators of the Press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a Set, and as biting and talkative as ever. O *Printing!* how hast thou disturb'd the Peace of Mankind! that Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into Letters! There was a mistake sure in the Story of *Cadmus*; and the Serpents Teeth which he sowed, were nothing else but the Letters which he invented. The first Essay that was made towards this Art, was in single Characters upon Iron, where-

with

with of old they stigmatized Slaves and remarkable Offenders; and it was of good use sometimes to brand a Schismatick. But a *bulky* Dutchman diverted it quite from its first Institution, and contriving those innumerable *Syn-tagmes* of Alphabets, hath pestred the World ever since with the *gross Bodies* of *their German Divinity*. One would have thought in Reason that a Dutchman at least might have contented himself only with the Wine-press.

But, next of all, our Author, beside his aversion from the Press; alledges, that *he is as much concerned as De-wit, or any of the High and Mighty Burgomasters, in matters of a Closer and more Comfortable Importance to himself and his own Affairs*. And yet who ever shall take the pains to read over his Preface, will find that it intermeddles with the King, the Succession, the Privy-Council, Popery, Atheism, Bishops, Ecclesiastical Government, and above all with Nonconformity, and *J. O.* A man would wonder what this thing should be of a *Closer Importance*; But being *more comfortable*

table too, I conclude it must be one of these three things ; either his Salvation, or a Benefice, or a Female. Now as to Salvation he could not be so much concern'd : for that care was over ; there hath been a course taken to insure all that are on his bottom. And he is yet surer of a Benefice ; or else his Patrons must be very ungrateful. He cannot have deserved less than a Prebend for his first Book, a *Sine-cure* for his second, and for his third a Rectorship, although it were that of *Malmsbury*. Why, then of necessity it must be a Female. For, that I confess might have been a sufficient excuse from writing of Prefaces, and against the importunity of the Book-seller. 'Twas fit that all business should have given place to the work of Propagation. Nor was there any thing that could more closely import him, than that the Race and Family of the Railers should be perpetuated among Mankind. Who could in reason expect that a man should in the same moments undertake the labour of an Author and a Father ? Nevertheless,

vertheless, he saith, he could not but yield so far as to improve every fragment of time that he could get into his own disposal, to gratify the Importunity of the Bookseller. Was ever Civility graduated up and inhanc'd to such a value! His Mistris her self could not have endeared a Favour so nicely, nor granted it with more sweetness.

Was the Bookseller more Importunate, or the Author more Courteous?

The Author was the Pink of Courtesie, the Bookseller the Bur of Importunity.

And so, not being able to shake him off, *this*, he saith, bath brought forth this Preface, such an one as it is; for how it will prove, he himself neither is, nor (till 'tis too late) ever shall be a competent Judge, in that it must be ravish'd out of his hands before his thoughts can possibly be cool enough to revive or correct the Indecencies either of its stile or contrivance. He is now growing a very Enthusiast himself. No Nonconformist-Minister, as it seems, could have spoke more *extempore*. I see he is not so civil to his Readers as he was to his Bookseller:
and

and so *A. C.* and *James Collins* be gratified, he cares not how much the rest of the World be disobliged. Some Man that had less right to be fastidious and confident, would, before he exposed himself in publick, both have cool'd his Thoughts, and corrected his Indecencies: or would have considered whether it were necessary or wholesom that he should write at all. Forasmuch as one of the Antient *Sophists* (they were a kind of Orators of his Form) kill'd himself with declaming while he had a Bone in his Throat, and *J. O.* was still in being. Put up your *Trumpery good noble Marquess*. But there was no holding him. Thus it must be and no better, when a man's Phancy is up, and his Breeches are down; when the Mind and the Body make contrary Assignations, and he hath both a Bookseller at once and a Mistris to satisfie: Like *Archimedes*, into the Street he runs out naked with his Invention. And truly, if at any time, we might now pardon this Extravagance and Rapture of our Author; when he was pearch'd upon the

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the highest Pinacle of Ecclesiastical Felicity, being ready at once to allwage his Concupiscence, and wreck his Malice.

But yet he knows not which way his Mind will work it self and its thoughts. This is Bayes the Second. — 'Tis no matter for the Plot — The Intrigo was out of his head — But you'l apprehend it better when you see't. Or rather, he is like Bayes his Actors, that could not guess what humour they were to be in: whether angry, melancholly, merry, or in Love. Nay, insomuch that he saith, he is neither Prophet nor Astrologer enough to foretell. Never Man certainly was so unacquainted with himself. And, indeed, 'tis part of his discretion to avoid his acquaintance, and tell him as little of his mind as may be: for he is a dangerous fellow. But I must ask his pardon if I treat him too homely. It is his own fault that misled me at first, by concealing his quality under such vulgar comparisons as De-wit and the Burgomasters. I now see it all along; This can be no less a man than Prince
Volsices

Volscius himself, in dispute betwixt his
Boots which way his mind will work it
self; whether Love shall detain him
with his *Closer Importance*, *Parthenope*,
whose Mother, Sir, sells Ale by the Town-
wall: or Honour shall carry him to head
the Army that lies concealed for him at
Knightsbridge, and to encounter *J. O.*

Go on tryes Honour: tender Love saith
Nay.

Honour aloud commands, Pluck both
Boots on.

But safer Love ~~whisper~~ whisper, Put on
none.

And so now when it comes that he is
not Prophet nor Astrologer enough to fore-
tell what he will do, 'tis just,

For as bright Day, with black approach
of Night,

Contending, makes a doubtful puzzling
Light;

So does my Honour and my Love toge-
ther,

Puzzle me so, I am resolv'd on neither.

Yet

Yet no Astrologer could possibly have more advantage and opportunity to make a Judgment. For he knew the very minute of the Conception of his Preface, which was immediately upon His Majesties issuing his Declaration of Indulgence to Tender Consciences. Nor could he be ignorant of the moment when it was brought forth. And I can so far refresh his memory, that it came out in the Dog-dayes,

—the Season hot; and She too near :

O mighty Love ! J. O. will be undone.

According to the Rule in Davenant's Ephemerides ; But the heads which at this moment, and under the present Schemes and Aspects of the Heavens he intends to treat of (pure Sidrophel) are these two. First, Something of the Treatise it self. Secondly, of the seasonableness of its publication : and this, unless his Humour lead him ('tis come to a Dog-trot already) will lead him further into the Argument as it relates to the present state of things, and from thence 'tis odds but he shall take occasion to bestow some Animadversions upon one J. O. There's no trusting him.

Hc

He doubtless knew from the beginning what he intended. And so too all his story of the Bookseller, and all the *Volo Nola's*, and *shall-I, shall-I's* betwixt them, was nothing but fooling: And he now all along owns himself to be the Publisher, and alledges the slighter and the main reasons that induced him. Would he had told us so at first; for then he had saved me thus much of my labour. Though, as it chances, it lights not amiss on our Author, whose delicate stomach could not brook that J.O. should say, *he had prevailed with himself, much against his inclination, to bestow a few (and those idle) hours upon examining his Book:* and yet he himself stumbles so notoriously upon the very same fault at his own threshold.

But now from this Preamble he falls into his Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*: though indeed like *Bayes* his Prologue, that would have serv'd as well for an Epilogue, I do not see but the Preface might have past as well for a Postscript, or the Headstall for a Crooper. And our Authors *Divinity* might have gone
to

to *Push-Pin* with the Bishop, which of their two Treatises was the *Procatartical Cause* of both their Edition. For, as they are coupled together, to say the truth, 'tis not discernable, as in some Animals, whether their motion begin at the head or the tail; whether the Author made his Preface for Bishop *Bramhall's dear sake*, or whether he published the Bishop's Treatise for sake of his *own dear Preface*. For my own part I think it reasonable that the Bishop and our Author, should (like fair Gamsters at Leap-frog) stand and skip in their turns; and however our Author got it for once, yet, if the Bookseller should ever be solicitous for a Second Edition, that then the Bishops Book should have the Precedence.

But before I commit my self to the dangerous depths of his Discourse, which I am now upon the brink of, I would with his leave make a motion: that, instead of Author, I may henceforth indifferently call him Mr. *Bayes* as oft as I shall see occasion. And that, first, because he hath no Name, or
at

at least will not own it, though he himself writes under the greatest security, and gives us the first Letters of other Mens Names before he be asked them. Secondly, because he is I perceive a lover of Elegancy of Stile; and can endure no mans Tautologies but his own; and therefore I would not distaste him with too frequent repetition of one word. But chiefly, because Mr. *Bayes* and he do very much Symbolize; in their understandings, in their expressions, in their humour, in their contempt and quarrelling of all others, though of their own Profession. Because our Divine the Author, manages his contest with the same Prudence and civility; which the Players and Poets have practised of late in their several Divisions. And, lastly, because both their Talents do peculiarly lie in exposing and personating the Non-conformists. I would therefore give our Author a Name, the memory of which may perpetually excite him to the exercise and highest improvement of that Virtue. For, our *Cicero* doth not yet

yet equal our *Roscius*, and one turn of *Lacy's* face hath more *Ecclesiastical Policy* in it, than all the Books of our Author put together. Besides, to say Mr. Bayes is more *ctvil* than to say *Villain* and *Caitiff*, though these indeed are more *tuant*. And, to conclude: The *Irrefragable Doctor of School-Divinity*, pag. 460 of his *Defense*: determining concerning *Symbolical Ceremonies*, hath warranted me *that not only Governors, but any thing else, may have power to appropriate new names to things, without having absolute authority over the things themselves.* And therefore henceforward, seeing I am on such sure ground, *Author*, or Mr. Bayes, whether I please. Now, having had our *Dance*, let us advance to our more serious *Counsels*.

And first, Our Author begins with a *Panegyrick* upon *Bishop Brambal*: a Person whom my age had not given me leave to be acquainted with, nor my good fortune led me to converse with his Writings: but for whom I had collected a deep Reverence from the general

ral Reputation he carried, beside the Veneration due to the Place he filled in the Church of *England*. So that our Author having a mind to shew us some proof of his Good Nature, and that his Eloquence lay'd not all in Satyr and Invectives, could not, in my opinion, have fixed upon a fitter subject of commendation. And therefore, I could have wished for my own sake, that I had missed this occasion of being more fully informed of some of the Bishop's Principles, whereby I have lost part of that pleasure which I had so long enjoyed in thinking well of so considerable a Person. But however, I recreate my self with believing that my simple judgment cannot, beyond my intention, abate any thing of his just value with others. And seeing he is long since dead, which I knew but lately, and now learn it with regret, I am the more obliged to repair in my self whatsoever breaches of his Credit, by that additional Civility which consecrates the Ashes of the Deceased. But by this means I am come to discern
how

how it was possible for our Author to speak a good word of any man. The Bishop was expired, and his Writings jump much with our Author. So that if you have a mind to die, or to be of his Party, (there are but these two Conditions) you may perhaps be rendered capable of his Charity. And then write what you will, he will make you a *Preface that shall recommend you and it to the Genius of the Age, and reconcile it to the Juncture of Affairs.* But truly he hath acquitted himself herein so ill-favourably to the Bishop, that I do not think it so much worth to gain his approbation; and I had rather live and enjoy mine owne opinion than be so treated. For, beside his reflexion on the Bishop, and the whole Age he lived in; that *he was, as far as the prejudice of the Age would permit him, an acute Philosopher* (which is a sufficient taste of Mr. Bayes his Arrogance, that no man, no Age can be so perfect but must abide his Censure, and of the officious virulence of his Humour which infuses it self, by a malignant

remark, that (but for this acuter Philosopher) no man else would have thought of, into the Praises of him whom he most intended to celebrate) if, I say, beside this, you consider the most elaborate and studious Periods of his Commendation, you find it at best very ridiculous. By the Language he seems to transcribe out of the *Grand-Cyrus* and *Cassandra*, but the Exploits to have borrowed out of the *Knight of the Sun*, and *King Arthur*. For in a ludicrous and effeminate Stile he gives him such a *Termagant* Character, as must either fright or turn the stomach of any Reader; *Being of a brave and enterprising temper, of an active and sprightly mind, he was alwayes busied either in contriving or performing great Designs.* Well, Mr. Bayes, I suppose by this that he might have been an over-match to the Bishop of *Cullen* and the Bishop of *Strasbourg*. In another place, *He finished all the glorious Designs that he undertook.* This might have become the Bishop of *Munster* before he had rais'd the Siege from *Groningen*. *As he was*
able

able to accomplish the most gallant attempts, so he was alwayes ready not only to justify their Innocence, but to make good their Bravery. I was too prodigal of my Bishops at first, and now have never another left in the Gazette, which is our Authors Magazin. His Reputation and Innocence were both Armor of Proof against Tories and Presbyterians. But me-thinks Mr. Bayes having to do with such dangerous Enemies, you should have furnished him too with some weapon of Offence, a good old Fox, like that of another Heroe, his Contemporary in Action upon the Scene of Ireland, of whom it was sung,

*Dawn by his side he wore a Sword of
price,*

*Keen as a Frost, glaz'd like a new made
Ice :*

*That cracks men shell'd in Steel in a
less trice,*

*Than Squirrels Nuts, or the High-
landers Lice.*

Then he saith ; 'Tis true, the Church of

Ireland was the largest Scene of his Actions ; but yet there, in a little time, he wrought out such wonderful Alterations, and so exceeding all belief, as may convince us that he had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its greatest extent. This indeed of our Author's is Great : and yet it reacheth not a strain of his fellow-Pennets in the History of the Mogol ; where he tells Dancebment Kan, That when he put his foot in the Stirrop, and when he march'd upon Horseback in the front of the Cavalry, the Earth trembled under his feet, the eight Elephants that hold it on their heads not being able to support it. But enough of this Trash.

Beside that it is the highest *Indecorum* for a Divine to write in such a stile as this [part Play-book and part Romance] concerning a Reverend Bishop ; these improbable *Elogies* too are of the greatest disservice to their own design, and do in effect diminish alwayes the Person whom they pretend to magnifie. Any worthy Man may pass through the World unquestion'd
and

and safe with a moderate Recommendation; but when he is thus set off, and bedawb'd with Rhetorick, and embroyder'd so thick that you cannot discern the Ground, it awakens naturally (and not altogether unjustly) Interest, Curiosity, and Envy. For all men pretend a share in Reputation, and love not to see it ingross'd and monopoliz'd, and are subject to enquire, (as of great Estates suddenly got) whether he came by all this honestly, or of what credit the Person is that tells the Story ? And the same hath happened as to this Bishop, while our Author attributes to him such Atchievements, which to one that could believe the Legend of Captain *Jones*, might not be incredible. I have heard that there was indeed such a Captain, an honest brave fellow: but a Wag that had a mind to be merry with him, hath quite spoil'd his History. Had our Author epitomiz'd the Legend of sixty six Books *de Virtutibus Sancti Patricii* (I mean not the Ingenious Writer of the *Friendly Debates*, but St. *Patrick* the Irish Bishop) he

could not have promis'd us greater Miracles. And 'tis well for him that he hath escaped the fate of *Secundinus*, who (as *Josselin* relates it) acquainting *Patrick* that he was inspired to compose something in his Commendation, the Bishop foretold the Author should die as soon as 'twas perfected. Which so done, so happened, I am sure our Author had died no other death but of this his own *Preface*, and a surfeit upon Bishop *Bramball*, if the swelling of Truth could have choak'd him. He tells us, I remember somewhere, that this same Bishop of *Derry* said, the *Scots* had a civil expression for these *Improvers of verity*, that they had *good Company*; and I shall say nothing severer, than that our Author speaks the language of a Lover, and so may claim some pardon, if the habit and excess of his Courtship do as yet give a tincture to his discourse upon more ordinary Subjects. For I would not by any means be mistaken, as if I thought our Author so sharp set, or so necessitated that he should make a dead Bishop his Mistress;

Mistress; so far from that, that he hath taken such a course, that if the Bishop were alive, he would be out of love with himself. He hath, like those frightfull Looking-glasses, made for sport, represented him in such bloated lineaments, as I am confident, if he could see his face in it, he would break the Glass. For, hence it falls out too, that men seeing the Bishop furbish'd up in so martial accoutrements, like another *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, and having never before heard of his prowess, begin to reflect what *Giants* he defeated, and what *Damsells* he rescued. Serious Men consider whether he were engaged in the conduct of the *Irish* Army, and to have brought it over upon *England*, for the Imputation of which the Earl of *Strafford* his Patron so undeservedly suffered. But none knows any thing of it. Others think it is not to be taken literally, but the wonderfull and unheard-of Alterations that he wrought out in *Ireland*, are meant of some Reformation that he made there in things of his own Function. But then

then men ask again, how he comes to have all the honour of it, and whether all the while that great Bishop *Usher*, his Metropolitan, were unconcerned? For even in Ecclesiasticall Combates how instrumental soever the Captain hath been, the General usually carries away the honour of the Action. But the good *Primate* was engaged in Designs of lesser moment, and was writing his *de Primordiis Ecclesiae Britanicae*, and the Story of *Pelagius* our Conuntryman. He Honest man, was deep gone in *Grubstreet* and *Polemical Divinity*, and troubled with fits of *Modern Orthodoxy*. He satisfied himself with being *admired by the blue and white Aprons*, and *pointed at by the more judicious Tankard-bearers*. Nay, which is worst of all, he undertook to abate of our Episcopall *Grandeur*, and condescended indeed to reduce the Ceremonious Discipline in these Nations to the Primitive Simplicity. What then was this that Bishop *Brambal* did? Did he, like a Protestant Apostle, in one day convert thousands of the *Irish* Papists? The contrary is evident

evident by the Irish Rebellion and Massacre, which, notwithstanding his *Publick Employment and great Abilities*, happened in his time. So that after all our Authors bombast, when we have search'd all over, we find our selves bilk'd in our expectation : and he hath erected him, like a *St. Christopher* in the Popish Churches, as big as ten Porters, and yet only imploy'd to sweat under the burden of an *Infant*.

All that appears of him is, first, that he busied himself about a *Catholick Agreement among the Churches of Christendom*. But as to this, our Author himself saith, that he was not so vain, or so presuming as to hope to see it effected in his dayes. And yet but two pages before he told us, that *the Bishop finish'd all the glorious Designs which he undertook*. But this Design of his he draws out in such a circuit of words, that 'tis better taking it from the Bishop himself, who speaks more plainly alwayes, and much more to the purpose. And he saith, pag. 87 of his Vindication, *My design is rather to reconcile the Popish Party to*
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the Church of England, than the Church of England to the Pope. And now he manages it, I had rather any man would learn by reading over his own Book, than that I should be thought to misrepresent him, which I might, unless I transcribed the whole. But in summe it seems to me that he is upon his own single judgment too liberal of the Publick, and that he retrenches both on our part more than he hath Authority for, and grants more to the Popish than they can of right pretend to. It is however indeed a most glorious Design, to reconcile all the Churches to one Doctrine and Communion (though some that meddle in it do it chiefly in order to fetter men straiter under the formal bondage of fictitious Discipline); but it is a thing rather to be wished and prayed for, than to be expected from these kind of endeavours. It is so large a Field, that no man can see to the end of it; and all that have adventured to travel it, have been bewildred. That Man must have a vast opinion of his own sufficiency, that can think he may
by

by his Oratory or Reason, either in his own time, or at any of our Author's *more happy Junctures of Affairs*, so far perswade and fascinate the *Roman-Church*, having by a regular texture of continued Policy for so many Ages interwoven it self with the Secular Interest, and made it self necessary to most Princes, and having at last erected a Throne of Infalibility over the Conscience, as to prevail with her to submit a Power and Empire so acquired and established in Compromise to the Arbitration of an humble Proposer. God only in his own time, and by the inscrutable methods of his Providence is able to effect that *Alteration*: though I think too he hath signified in part by what means he intends to accomplish it, and to range so considerable a Church, and once so exemplary, into Primitive Unity and Christian Order. In the mean time such Projects are fit for Pregnant Scholars that have nothing else to do, to go big with for forty years, and may qualify them to discourse with Princes and States,

States-men at their hours of leisure ; but I never saw that they came to Use or Possibility : No more than that of *Alexanders Architect*, who proposed to make him a Statue of the Mountain *Athos* (and that was no Molehill) ; and among other things, that Statue to carry in its hand a great habitable City. But the Surveyor was gravell'd, being asked whence that City should be supplied with Water. I would only have ask'd the Bishop, when he had carv'd and hammer'd the Romists and Protestants into one *Colossian-Church*, how we should have done as to matter of Bibles. For the Bishop, p. 117. complains that *unqualified people should have a promiscuous Licence to read the Scriptures* : and you may guess thence, if he had moreover the Pope to friend, how the Laity should have been used. There have been attempts in former Ages to dig through the Separating *Istmos* of *Peloponnesus* ; and another to make communication between the *Red-Sea* and the *Mediterranean* : both more easie than to cut this *Ecclesiastick Canal* ; and yet both

both laid by, partly upon the difficulty of doing it, and partly upon the inconveniences if it had been effected. I must confess freely, yet I ask pardon for the presumption, that I cannot look upon these undertaking Church-men, however otherwise of excellent Prudence and Learning, but as men struck with a Notion, and craz'd on that side of their head. And so I think even the Bishop had much better have busied himself in Preaching in his own Diocess, and disarming the Papists of their Arguments, instead of rebating our weapons; than in taking an *Oscumenical* care upon him, which none called him to, and, as appears by the sequel, none connd him thanks for.

But if he were so great a Politician as I have heard, and indeed believe him to have been, methinks he should in the first place have contrived how we might live well with our Protestant Neighbours, and to have united us in one Body under the King of *England*, as Head of the Protestant Interest, which might have

have rendred us more considerable, and put us into a more likely posture to have reduced the Church of *Rome* to Reason. For the most leading Party of the *English* Clergy in his time retained such a Pontifical stiffness towards the Foreign Divines, that it puts me in mind of *Austin* the Monk when he came into *Kent*, not deigning to rise up to the *British*, or give them the hand, and could scarce afford their Churches either Communion or Charity, or common Civility. So that it is not to be wondred if they also on their parts looked upon our Models of Accommodation with the same jealousy that the *British* Christians had of *Austin's* Design, to unite them first to (that is under) the *Saxons*, and then deliver them both over bound to the Papal Government and Ceremonies. But seeing hereby our hands were weakned, and there was no probability of arriving so near the end of the work, as to a consent among Protestants abroad; had the Bishop but gone that step, to have reconciled the Ecclesiastical Differences in our

our own Nations, and that we might have stood firm at home before we had taken such a Jump beyond-Sea, it would have been a Performance worthy of his Wisdom. For at that time the Ecclesiastical Rigours here were in the highest ferment, and the Church in being arrayed it self against the peaceable Dissenters only in some points of Worship. And what great Undertaking could we be ripe for abroad, while so divided at home ? or what fruit expected from the labour of those Mediating Divines in weighty matters, who were not yet past the Sucking-bottle ; but seem'd to place all the business of Christianity in persecuting men for their Consciences, differing from them in smaller matters ? How ridiculous must we be to the Church of *Rome* to interpose in her Affairs, and force our Mediation upon her ; when, besides our ill correspondence with the Foreign Protestants, she must observe our weakness within our selves, that we could not, or would not step over a straw, though for the perpetual settle-

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ment and security of our Church and Nation ? She might well look upon us as those that probably might be forced at some time by our folly to call her in to our assistance (for with no weapons or Arguments but what are fetch'd out of her Arsenals can the Ceremonial-Controversie be rightly defended) but never could she consider us as of such Authority or wisdom, as to give Ballance to her Counsels

But this was far from Bp. Bramhall's thoughts ; who, so he might (like *Cæsar*) *manage the Roman Empire at its utmost extent*, had quite forgot what would conduce to the Peace of his own Province and Country. For p. 57. he settles this Maxime as a Truth, *That second Re-formations are commonly like Metal upon Metal, which is false Heraldry*. Where, by the way, it is a wonder that our Author in enumerating the Bps perfections in Divinity, Law, History, and Philosophy, neglected this peculiar gift he had in Heraldry ; and omitted to tell us that his Mind was large enough to have animated the Kingdoms of *Garter* and *Clarencieux*.

rencieux at their 'greatest dimensions. But, beside what I have said already in relation to this Project upon *Rome*, there is this more, which I confess was below Bishop *Bramhall's* reflexion, and was indeed fit only for some vulgar Politician, or the Commissioners of *Scotland* about the late Union: Whether it would not have succeeded, as in the consolidation of Kingdoms, where the Greatest swallows down the less; so also in Church-Coalition, that though the Pope had condescended (which the Bishop owns to be his Right) to be only a Patriarch, yet he would have swoop'd up the Patriarchate of *Lambeth* to his Mornings-draught, like an egg in Muscadine. And then there is another Danger always when things come once to a Treaty, that, beside the debates of Reason, there is a better way of tampering to bring Men over that have a Power to conclude. And so who knows in such a Treaty with *Rome*, if the *Alps* (as it is probable) would not have come over to *England*, as the Bishop designed it, *England* might not have been obliged,

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liged, lying so commodious for Navigation, to undertake a Voyage to *Civita Vecchia*? But what though we should have made all the Advances imaginable, it would have been to no purpose; and nothing less than an intire and total resignation of the Protestant Cause would have contented her. For the Church of *Rome* is so well satisfied of her own sufficiency, and hath so much more wit than we had in Bishop *Bramhall's* days, or seem to have yet learned; that it would have succeeded just as at the Council of *Trent*. For there, though many Divines of the greatest Sincerity and Learning, endeavoured a Reformation, yet no more could be obtained of Her than the Nonconformists got of those of the Church of *England* at the Conference of *Worcester House*. But on the contrary, all her Excesses and Errors were further rivited and confirmed, and that great Machine of her Ecclesiastical Policy there perfected.

So that this Enterprize of Bishop *Bramhalls*, being so ill laid and so unseasonable, deserves rather an Excuse than

than a Commendation. And all that can be gathered besides out of our Author concerning him is of little better value ; for he saith indeed, that *he was a zealous and resolute Assertor of the Publick Rites and Solemnities of the Church.* But those things, being only matters of external neatness, could never merit the Trophies that our Author erects him. For neither can a Justice of Peace for his severity about Dirt-baskets deserve a Statue. And as for *his expunging some dear and darling Articles from the Protestant cause,* it is, as far as I can perceive, onely his substituting some *Arminian Tenets,* (which I name so, not for reproach, but for difference) instead of the *Calvinian Doctrines.* But this too could not challenge all these Triumphal Ornaments in which he installs him: For, I suppose these were but meer mistakes on either side, for want of being (as the Bishop saith pag. 134.) *scholastically stated;* and that he, with a distinction of School-Theologie, could have smoothed over and plained away these knots though they had been much harder.

For the rest, which he leaves us to seek for, and I meet casually with in the Bishop's own Book ; I find him to have been doubtless a very good-natur'd Gentleman. Pag. 160. *He bath much respect for poor Readers ;* and pag. 161. *He judges that if they come short of Preachers in point of Efficacy, yet they have the advantage of Preachers as to point of Security.* And pag. 163. He commends the care taken by the *Canons* that the meanest Cure of Souls should have formal Sermons at least four times every year. Pag. 155. He maintains the Publick Sports on the Lords day by the Proclamation to that purpose, and the Example of the Reformed Churches beyond-Sea : and for the Publick Dances of our Youth upon Country-Greens on Sundayes, after the duties of the day, he sees nothing in them but innocent and agreeable to that under-sort of people. And pag. 117. (which I quoted before) he takes the promiscuous licence to unqualified persons to read the Scriptures, far more prejudicial, nay, more pernicious, than the over-rigorous restraint of the Romanists. And indeed,

indeed, all along he complies much for peace-sake, and judiciously shews us wherein our separation from the Church of *Rome* is not warrantable. But although I cannot warrant any man who hence took occasion to traduce him of Popery, the contrary of which is evident, yet neither is it to be wondred, if he did hereby lye under some imputation, which he might otherwise have avoided. Neither can I be so hard-hearted as our Author in the Nonconformists case of Discipline, to think it were better that *he, or a hundred more Divines of his temper should suffer, though innocent* in their Reputation, *than that we should come under a possibility of losing our Religion.* For as they (the Bishop, and I hope most of his Party) did not intend it so, neither could they have effected it. But he could nor expect to enjoy his Imagination without the annoyances incident to such as dwell in the middle story : the Pots from above, and the Smoak from below. And those Churches which are seated nearer upon the Frontire of Popery, did natural-

ly and well if they took Alarm at the March. For, in fact, that incomparable Person *Grotius* did yet make a Bridge for the Enemy to come over; or at least laid some of our most considerable Passes open to them and unguarded: a crime something like what his Son *De Groot* (here's Gazette again for you) and his Son-in-law *Mombas* have been charged with. And, as to the Bishop himself, his Friend, an Accusatory Spirit would desire no better play than he gives in his own Vindication. But that's neither my business nor humour: and whatsoever may have glanced upon him, was directed only to our Author; for publishing that Book, which the Bishop himself had thought fit to conceal, and for his impertinent effluence of Rhetorick upon so mean Topicks, in so choice and copious a Subject as Bishop *Bramhal*.

Yet though the Bishop prudently undertook a Design, which he hoped not to accomplish in his own dayes, our Author, however, was something wiser, and hath made sure to obtain his end.
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For the Bishop's Honour was the furthest thing from his thoughts, and he hath managed that part so, that I have accounted it a work of some Piety to vindicate his Memory from so scurvy a commendation. But the Author's end was only railing. He could never have induc'd himself to praise one man but in order to rail on another. He never oyls his Hone but that he may whet his Razor; and that not to shave, but to cut mens throats. And whoever will take the pains to compare, will find, that as it is his only end; so his best, nay his only talent is railing. So that he hath, while he pretends so much for the good Bishop, used him but for a Stalking-horse till he might come within shot of the Forreign Divines and the Nonconformists. The other was only a copy of his countenance: But look to your selves, my Masters; for in so venomous a Malice, Courtesie is always fatal. Under colour of some mens having taxed the Bishop, he flies out into a furious Debauch, and breaks the Windows, if he could, would raze the

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the foundations of all the Protestant-Churches beyond Sea: but for all men at home of their perswasion, if he meet them in the dark he runs them thorow. He usurps to himself the Authority of the Church of *England*, who is so well bred, that if he would have allowed her to speak, she would doubtless have trea ed more civilly those over whom she pretends no Jurisdiction: and under the names of *Germany* and *Geneva*, he rallies and rails at the whole Protestancy of *Europe*. For you are mistaken in our Author (but I have worn him thread-bare) if you think he designs to enter the Lists where he hath but one man to combate. Mr *Bayes*, ye know, *prefers that one quality of fighting single with whole Armies, before all the moral Vertues put together.* And yet I assure you, he hath several times obliged moral Vertue so highly, that she owes him a good turn whensoever she can meet him. But it is a brave thing to be the Ecclesiastical *Draw-Can-Sir*; He kills whole Nations, he kills Friend and Foe; *Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia*

mia, *Poland*, *Savoy*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and a great part of the Church of *England*, and all *Scotland* (for these, besides many more, he mocks under the title of *Germany* and *Geneva*) may perhaps rouse our Mast. ff, and make up a Danger worthy of his Courage. A man would guess that this Giant had promised his *Comfortable Importance* a Simarre of the beards of all the *Orthodox Theologues* in Christendom.

But I wonder how he comes to be Prolocutor of the Church of *England*! For he talks at that rate as if he were a *Synodical Individuum*; nay, if he had a fifth Council in his belly he could not dictate more dogmatically. There had been indeed, as I have heard, about the dayes of Bishop *Brambal*, a sort of Divines here of that Leaven, who being dead, I cover their names, if not for healths sake, yet for decency, who never could speak of the first Reformers with any patience; who pruned themselves in the peculiar Virulency of their Pens, and so they might say a tart thing concerning the
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Forreign Churches, cared not what obloquy they cast upon the History or the profession of Religion. And those men undertook likewise to veat their Wit and their Choler under the stile of the Church of *England*; and were indeed so far owned by her, that what preferments were in her own disposal she rather conferr'd upon them. And now when they were gone off the Stage, there is risen up this Spiritual Mr. *Boyes*; who having assumed to himself an incongruous Plurality of Ecclesiastical Offices, one the most severe, of Penitentiary-Universal to the Reformed-Churches; the other most ridiculous, of Buffoon-General to the Church of *England*, may be henceforth capable of any other Promotion. And not being content to enjoy his own folly, he has taken two others into Partnership, as fit for his design, as those two that clubb'd with *Mahomet* in making the *Alchoran*: who by a perverse Wit and Representation might travestee the Scripture, and render all the carefull and serious part of Religion odious and

and contemptible. But, lest I might be mistaken as to the Persons I mention, I will assure the Reader that I intend not *Huddibras*: For he is a man of the other Robe, and his excellent Wit hath taken a flight far above these Whifflers: that whoever dislikes the choice of his Subject, cannot but commend his Performance, and calculate it on so barren a Theme he were so copious, what admirable sport he would have made with an Ecclesiastical Politician. But for a *Daw-Divine* not only to foul his own Nest in *England*, but to pull in peices the Nests of those beyond Sea, 'tis that which I think undecent, and of very ill example.

There is not indeed much danger, his Book, his Letter, and his Preface being writ in English, that they should pass abroad: but, if they be printed upon incombustible Paper, or by reason of the many Avocations of our Church they may escape a Censure, yet 'tis likely they may dye at home the common fate of such Treatises amongst the more judicious Oylmen and Grocers. Unless *Mr. Bayes*
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be so far in love with his own Whelp, that, as a Modern Lady, he will be at the charge of translating his Works into *Latin*, transmitting them to the Universities, and dedicating them in the *Vaticane*. But, should they unhappily get vent abroad (as I here some are already sent over for curiosity) what scandal, what heart-burning and animosity must it raise against our Church : unless they chance to take it right at first, and limit the Provocation within the Author. And then, what can he expect in return of his Civility, but that the Complement which passed betwixt *Arminius* and *Baudius* should center upon him, that he is both *Opprobrium Academiae*, and *Pestis Ecclesiae*. For they will see at the first that his Books come not out under Publick Authority, or recommendation : but only as things of Buffoonery do commonly, they carry with them their own *Imprimatur* ; (But I hope he hath considered *Mr. L.* in private, and payed his Fees :) Neither will the Gravity therefore of their Judgments take the measures, I hope, either

either of the Education at our Universities, or of the Spirit of our Divines, or of the Prudence, Piety, and Doctrine of the Church of *England* from such an Interloper. Those Gardens of ours use to bear much better fruit. There may happen sometimes an ill Year, or there may be such a Crab-stock as cannot by all ingrafting be corrected. But generally it proves otherwise. Once perhaps in a hundred years there may arise such a Prodigy in the University (where all Men else learn better Arts and better manners) and from thence may creep into the Church (where the Teachers at least ought to be well instructed in the knowledge and practice of Christianity) so prodigious a Person I say may even there be hatch'd, as shall neither know or care how to behave himself to God or Man; and who having never seen the receptacle of Grace or Conscience at an Anatomical Dissection, may conclude therefore that there is no such matter, or no such obligation among Christians; who shall persecute the Scripture it self, unless it will

will conform to his Interpretation; who shall strive to put the World into Blood, and animate Princes to be the Executioners of their own Subjects for well-doing. All this is possible; but comes to pass as rarely and at as long periods in our Climate, as the birth of a false Prophet. But unluckily, in this fatal Year of Seventy two, among all the Calamities that Astrologers foretel, this also hath befallen us. I would not hereby confirm his vanity, as if I also believed that any Scheme of Heaven did influence his actions, or that he were so considerable as that the Comet, under which they say we yet labour, had fore-boded the appearance of his Preface. No, no: though he be a creature most noxious, yet he is more despicable. A Comet is of far higher quality, and hath other kind of employment. Although we call it an Hairy-Star, it affords no prognostick of what breeds there, but the Astrologer that would discern our Author and his business, must lay by his Telescope, and use a Microscope. You may find him
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still in Master *Calvin's* head.

Poor Mr. *Calvin* and Bp. *Bramhall*, what crime did you dye guilty of, that you cannot lye quiet in your graves; but must be conjured up on the stage as oft as Mr. *Bayes* will ferret you? And which of you two are most unfortunate I cannot determine; whether the Bishop in being alwayes courted, or the Presbyter in being alwayes rail'd at. But in good earnest I think Mr. *Calvin* hath the better of it. For, though an ill man cannot by praising confer honour, nor by reproaching fix an ignominy; and so they may seem on equal terms; yet there is more in it: for at the same time that we may imagine what is said by such an Author to be false, we conceive the contrary to be true. What he said of him indeed in this place did not come very well in: for *Calvin* writ nothing against Bishop *Bramhall*, and therefore here it amounts to no more than that his Spirit forsooth had propagated an original *Waspishness* and false *Orthodoxy* amongst all his Followers. But if you look in other pages of his Book, and particularly pag. 663. of

his Defence, you never saw such a Scarcrow as he makes him. *There sprang up a mighty Bramble on the South side the Lake Lemane, that (such is the rankness of the soil) spread and flourished with such a sudden growth, that partly by the industry of his Agents abroad, and partly by its own indefatigable pains and pragmaticalness, it quite over-ran the whole Reformation.---* You must conceive that Mr. Bayes was all this while in an ex-asy in Dodona's Grove; or else here is strange work, worse than explicating a Post, or examining a Pillar. A Bramble that had Agents abroad, and it self an indefatigable Bramble. But straight our Bramble is transformed to a Man, and he makes a Chair of Infallibility for himself, out of his own Bramble Timber. Yet all this while we know not his Name. One would suspect it might be a Bp. Bramble. But then he made himself both Pope and Emperor too of the greatest part of the Reformed World. How near does this come to his Commendation of Bishop Bramball before? For our Author seems copious, but is indeed very poor of Expression:

pression : and, as smiling and frowning are performed in the face with the same muscles very little altered ; so the changing of a line or two in Mr. *Bayer* at any time, will make the same thing serve for a Panegyrick or a Philippick. But what do you think of this Man ? Could *Mistress Mopsa* her self have furnished you with a more pleasant or worshipful tale ? It wants nothing of perfection, but that it doth not begin with *Once upon a time* ? which Mr. *Bayer*, according to his Accuracy, if he had thought on't, would never have omitted.

Yet some critical People, who will exact Truth in Falshood, and tax upon an old-wife's fable to the punctuality of History, were blaming him t'other day for placing this Bramble on the South-side of the *Lake Lemane*. I said, it was well and wisely done that he chose a South Sun for the better and more sudden growth of such a Fruit-tree. Ay, said they, but he means *Calvin* by the Bramble, and the rank soyl on the South-side the *Lake Lemane* is the City of *Geneva*, situate (as he would have it) on the South-

side of that Lake. Now it is strange that he having travell'd so well, should not have observ'd that the Lake lies East and West, and that *Geneva* is built at the West end of it. Pish, said I, that's no such great matter, and as Mr. Bayes hath it upon another occasion, *Whether it be so or no, the fortunes of Caesar and the Roman Empire are not concerned in't.* One of the Company would not let that pass, but told us, if we look'd in *Caesar's Commentaries*, we should find their fortunes were concerned, for it was the *Helvetian Passage*, and many mistakes might have risen in the marching of the Army. Why then replied I again, Whether it be East, West, North or South, there is neither *Vice* nor *Idolatry* in it, and the Ecclesiastical Politician may command you to believe it, and you are bound to *acquiesce* in his judgment, whatsoever may be *your private Opinion*. Another, to continue the mirth, answered, That yet there might be some Religious Consideration in building a Town East and West, or North and South, and 'twas not a thing

so indifferent as men thought it; but because in the Church of *England*, where the Table is set Altar-wise, the Minister is nevertheless obliged to stand at the North-side (though it be the North-end of the Table) it was fit to place the *Geneva* Presbyter in diametrical opposition to him upon the *South-side of the Lake*. But this we all took for a cold conceit, and not enough matured. I, that was still upon the doubtful and excusing part, said, That to give the right situation of a Town, it was necessary first to know in what position the Gentlemans head then was when he made his Observation, and that might cause a great diversity, as much as this came to. Yes, replied my next Neighbour; or, perhaps some roguing Boy that managed the Puppets, turned the City wrong and so disoccidented our Geographer. It was grown almost as good as a Play among us: and at last they all concluded that *Geneva had sold Mr. Bayes a Bargain*, as the Moon serv'd the Sun in the *Rehearsal*, and in good sooth had turn'd her breech on him.

But this, I doubt not, Mr. *Boyer* will bring himself off with Honour: but that which sticks with me is, that our Author having undertaken to make *Calvin* and *Geneva* ridicule, hath not pursued it to so high a point as the Subject would have afforded. First, he might have taken the name of the beast *Calvinus*, and of that have given the Anagram, *Lucianus*. Next, I would have turn'd him inside outward, and have made him *usmulca*. That was a good Hobgoblin name to have frightened Children with. Then he should have been a *Bramble* still, ay, an *indefatigable Bramble* too: but after that he should have continued (for in such a Book a passage in a Play is clear gain, and a great loss if omitted) and upon that *Bramble Reasons* grew as plentiful as *Blackberries*, but both unwholesome, and they stain'd all the *white aprons* so, that there was no getting of it out. And then to make a fuller description of the place, he should have added: That near to the City of *roaring Lions* there was a Lake, and that Lake was
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all of Brimstone, but stored with overgrown Trouts, which Trouts spawned Presbyterians, and those spawned the Millecantons of all other Fanaticks. That the Shoal of Presbyterians landed at Geneva, and devoured all the Bishop of Geneva's Capons, which are of the greatest size of any in the Reformed-World. And ever since their mouths have been so in relish that the Presbyterians are in all parts the very Canibals of Capons: insomuch that if Princes do not take care, the race of Capons is in danger to be totally extinguished. But that the River Rhosne was so sober and intelligent, that its Waters would not mix with this Lake perilous, but ran sheer thorow without ever touching it: nay, such is its apprehension lest the Lake should overtake it, that the River dives it self under ground till the Lake hath lost the scent: and yet when it rises again, imagining that the Lake is still at its heels, it runs on so impetuously that it chuseth rather to pass through the roaring Lions, and never thinks it self safe,

till it hath taken sanctuary at the Popes Town of *Avinion*. He might too have proved that *Calvin* made himself *Pope* and *Emperour*, because the City of *Geneva* stamps upon its Coyn the two-headed Imperial Eagle. And, to have given us the utmost Terror, he might have considered the Alliance and Vicinity of *Geneva* to the *Canton* of *Bern*, the Arms of which City is the Bear, (and an Argument in Heraldry, even Bishop *Bramhall* himself being Judge, might have also held in Divinity) and therefore they keep under the Town-house constantly a whole den of Bears. So that there was never a more dangerous situation, nor any thing so carefully to be avoided by all Travellers in their wits, as *Geneva*: the *Lions* on one side, and the *Bears* on the other.

This Story would have been Nuts to Mother Midnight, and was fit to have bin imbellish d with Mr. *Bayes* his Allegorical Eloquence. And all that he saith either by fits and girds of *Calvin*, or in his justest Narratives, hath less foundation in Nature: and is indeed twice
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incredible, first in the matter related, and then because Mr. Bayes it comes from : or, to express it shorter, because of the Tale and the Tales-man. He is not yet come to that Authority but that his Dogmatical *Ipse Dixit* may rather be a reason why we should not believe him. If Mr. Bayes will speak of Controversy ; let him enter into a regular Disputation concerning these *Calvinian* Tenets, and not write an History. Or, if he will give us the History of *Calvin*, let him at the same time produce his Authors. And whether History or Controversy , let him be pleas'd so long to abate of the exuberancy of his Fancy and Wit ; to dispense with his Ornaments and superfluencies of Invention and Satyre, and then a man may consider whether he may believe his Story, and submit to his Argument. But in the mean time (for all he pleads in pag. 97. of his *Defence*) it looks all so like subterfuge and inveigling ; it is so nauseating and tedious a task, that no man thinks he owes the Author so much service as to find

find out the reason of his own *Categoricalness* for him. One may beat the Bush a whole day; but after so much labour shall, for all game, onely spring a Butterfly, or start an Hedghog. Insomuch that I am ever and anon disputing with my self whether Mr. *Bayes* be indeed so ill-natured a person as some would have him, and do not rather innocently write things (as he professes, pag. 4. of his *Preface*) so *exceeding all belief*, that he may make himself and the Company merry. I sometimes could think that he intends no harm either to Publick or Private, but onely rails contentedly to himself and his Muses; That he seeks onely his own diversion, and chargeth his Gun with Wind but to shoot at the Air. Or that, like Boyes, so he may make a great Paper-kite of his own *Letter* of 850 pages, and his *Preface* of an hundred, he hath no further design upon the Poultry of the Village. But he takes care that I shall never be long deceived with that pleasing imagination: and though his Hyperboles and Impossibilities can have onely a ridiculous

diculous effect, he will be sure to manifest that he had a felonious intention. He would take it ill if we should not value him as an Enemy of mankind: and like a raging *Indian* (for in *Europe* it was never before practised) he runs a *Mucke* (as they call it there) stabbing every man he meets, till himself be knockt on the head.

This here is the least pernicious of all his mischiefs; though it be no less in this and all his other Books, than to make the *German Protestancy* a reproachful Proverb, and to turn *Geneva* and *Calvin* into a Common-Place of Rail-
ing. I had alwayes heard that *Calvin* was a good Scholar, and an honest Divine. I have indeed read that he spoke something contemptuously of our Liturgy: *Sunt in illo Libro quedam tolerabiles ineptiæ.* But that was a sin which we may charitably suppose he repented of on his death-bed. And if Mr. Bayes had some just quarrel to him on that or other account, yet for *Divinity's sake* he needed not thus have made a constant Pissing-place of his Grave. And as
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for *Geneva*, I never perceiv'd before but that it was a very laudable City, that there grew an excellent Grape on the South side of the Lake *Lemane*, that a man might make good chear there, and there was a *Pall-mall*, and one might shoot with the *Arbalet*, or play at *Court-boul* on Sundaies. What was here to intrage our Author so that he must raze the Fort of St. *Katherine*, and attempt with the same success a second *Escalade*? But the difficulty of the Enterprize doubtless provoked his Courage, and the honour he might win made the justice of his quarrel. He knew that not only the Common-wealth of *Switzerland*, but the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* would enter the lists of the common preservation of the place: and therefore, though it be otherwise but a petty Town, he disdain'd not where the Race was to be run by Monarchs, to exercise his footmanship.

But is it not a great pity to see a man in the flower of his age, and the vigor of his studies, to fall into such a distraction,

tion, That his head runs upon nothing but Roman Empire and Ecclesiastical Policy? This happens by his growing too early acquainted with *Don Quixot*, and reading the Bible too late: so that the first impressions being most strong, and mixing with the last, as more novel, have made such a medly in his brain-pan that he is become a mad Priest, which of all the sorts is the most incurable. Hence it is that you shall hear him anon instructing Princes like *Sancho*, how to govern his Island: as he is busied at present in vanquishing the *Calvinists* of *Germany* and *Geneva*. Had he no friends to have given him good counsel before his Understanding were quite unsettled? or if there were none near, why did not men call in the neighbours, and send for the Parson of the Parish to perswade with him in time, but let it run on thus till he is fit for nothing but *Bedlam* or *Hogsdon*? However though it be a particular damage, it may tend to a general advantage: and young students will, I hope, by his example learn to beware hence-
forward

forward of overweening Presumption
and preposterous Ambition.

For this Gentleman, as I have heard,
after he had read *Don Quixot* and the
Bible, besides such School-books as were
necessary for his age, was sent early to
the *University*: and there studied hard,
and in a short time became a competent
Rhetorician, and no ill Disputant. He
had learnt how to erect a *Thesis*, and to
defend it *Pro* or *Con* with a serviceable
distinction: while the Truth is (as his
Camarade Mr. Bayes hath it on another
occasion)

*Before a full Pot of Ale you can swal-
low,*

*Was bere with a Whoop and gone with
a Holla.*

And so thinking himself now ripe
and qualified for the greatest Undertak-
ings, and highest Fortune; he there-
fore exchanged the narrowness of the
University for the Town; but coming
out of the confinement of the Square-cap
and the Quadrangle into the open Air,

the

the Wold began to turn round with him: which he imagined; though it were his own giddiness, to be nothing less than the *Quadrature* of the *Circle*. This accident concurring so happily to increase the good opinion which he naturally had of himself, he thenceforward apply'd to gain a-like reputation with others. He follow'd the Town life, haunted the best companies; and, to polish himself from any Pedantick roughness, he read and saw the Plaies, with much care and more proficiency than most of the Auditory. But all this while he forgot not the main chance, but hearing of a vacancy with a Noble-man, he clap'd in; and easily obtain'd to be his Chaplain. From that day you may take the Date of his Preferments and his Ruine. For having soon wrought himself dexterously into his Patrons favour, by short Graces and Sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the *Puritans*, which he knew would take both at Chappel and Table; he gained a great Authority likewise among all the domesticks,

messicks. They all listened to him as an Oracle: and they allow'd him by common consent, to have not onely all the *Divinity*, but more wit too than all the rest of the family put together. This thing alone elevated him exceedingly in his own conceit, and raised his *Hypochondria* into the Region of the Brain: that his head swell'd like any Bladder with wind and vapour. But after he was stretch'd to such an height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe but his Eyes dazled at the Precipice of his Stature; there fell out, or in, another natural chance which push'd him headlong. For being of an amorous Complexion, and finding himself (as I told you) the *Cock-Divine* and the *Cock-Wit* of the Family, he took the priviledge to walk among the Hens: and thought it was not impolitick to establish his new-acquired Reputation upon the Gentle-womens side. And they that perceiv'd he was a Rising-man, and of pleasant Conversation, dividing his Day among them into Canonical hours, of reading

now

now the Common-prayer, and now the Romances, were very much taken with him. The sympathy of Silk began to stir and attract the Tippet to the Pettycoat and the Pettycoat toward the Tippet. The innocent Ladies found a strange unquietness in their minds, and could nor distinguish whether it were Love or Devotion. Neither was he wanting on his part to carry on the Work ; but shifted himself every day with a clean Surplice, and, as oft as he had occasion to bow, he directed his Reverence towards the Gentlewomens Pew. Till, having before had enough of the Libertine, and undertaken his Calling only for Preferment ; he was transported now with the Sanctity of his Office, even to extasy : and like the Bishop over *Maudlin Colledge* Altar, or like *Maudlin de la Croix*, he was seen in his Prayers to be lited up sometimes in the Air, and once particularly so high that he crack'd his Scul against the Chappel Ceiling. I do not hear for all this that he had ever practised upon the Honour of the Ladies, but

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that

that he preserved alwayes the Civility of a *Platonick Knight-Errant*. For all this Courtship had no other operation than to make him stil more in love with himself: and if he frequented their company, it was only to speculate his own Baby in their eyes. But being thus, without Competitor or Rival, the Darling of both Sexes in the Family and his own Minion; he grew beyond all measure elated, and that crack of his Scull, as in broken Looking-Glasses, multiply'd him in self-conceit and imagination.

Having fixed his Center in this Nobleman's House, he thought he could now move and govern the whole Earth with the same facility. Nothing now would serve him but he must be a madman in print, and write a Book of *Ecclesiastical-Policy*. There he distributes all the *Territories of Conscience* into the Princes Province, and makes the *Hierarchy* to be but Bishops of the *Airs*; and talks at such an extravagant rate in things of higher concernments, that the Reader will avow that in the whole

dis-

discourse he had not one *lucid interval*. This Book he was so bent upon, that he sat up late at nights, and wanting sleep, and drinking sometimes Wine to animate his Fancy, it increas'd his Distemper. Beside that too he had the misfortune to have two Friends, who being both also out of their wits, and of the same though something a calmer phrensy, spurr'd him on perpetually with commendation. But when his Book was once come out, and he saw himself an Author; that some of the Galants of the Town layd by the new Tune, and the *Tay, tay, tatee*, to quote some of his impertinencies; that his Title-page was posted and pasted up at every avenue next under the Play for that afternoon at the Kings or the Dukes House: the Vain-Glory of this totally confounded him. He lost all the little remains of his understanding, and his *Cerebellum* was so dried up, that there was more brains in a Walnut and both their Shells were alike thin and brittle. The King of *France* that lost his wits, had not near so many

unlucky circumstances to occasion it, and in the last of all there is some Similitude. For, as a negligent Page that rode behind and carried the Kings Lance, let it fall on his head, the King being in Armour, and the day hot, which so disordered him that he never recovered it : so this Gentleman, in the Dog-dayes, stragling by *Temple-bar*, in a maffy Cassock and Surcingle, and taking the opportunity at once to piss and admire the Title-page of his Book, a tall Servant of his, one J. Q. that was not so carefull as he should be, or whether he did it of purpose, lets another Book of four hundred leaves fall upon his head : which meeting with the former fracture in his *Cranium*, and all the concurrent Accidents already mentioned, has utterly undone him. And so in conclusion his Madness hath formed it self into a perfect *Lycanthropy*. He doth so verily believe himself to be a Wolf, that his speech is all turn'd into howling, yelling, and barking : and if there were any Sheep here, you should see him pull out their throats and suck the

the blood. Alas, that a sweet Gentleman, and so hopeful, should miscarry ! For want of Cartel here, you find him raving now against all the *Calvinists* of *England*, and worrying the whole Flock of them. For how can they hope to escape his chaps and his paws better than those of *Germany* and *Geneva* ; of which he is so hungry, that he hath scratch'd up even their dead bodies out of their Graves to prey upon ? And yet this is nothing if you saw him in the height of his fits : but he hath so beaten and spent himself before, that he is out of breath at present ; and though you may discover the same fury, yet it wants of the same vigour. But however you see enough of him, my Masters, to make you beware, I hope, of valuing too high, and trusting too far to your own Abilities.

It were a wild thing for me to *Squire* it after this *Knight*, and accompany him here through all his Extravagancies against our *Calvinists*. You find nothing but *Orthodoxy*, *Systems*, and *Syntagms*, *Polemical Theology*, *Subtilties* and

and *Distinctions*. *Demosthenes*; *Tankard-bearers*; *Pragmatical*; *Controversial*: General terms without foundation or reason assigned. That they seem like words of Cabal, & have no significance till they be decipher'd. Or, you would think he were playing at *Substantives* and *Adjectives*. All that rationally can be gathered from what he saith, is that the man is mad. But if you would supply his meaning with your imagination, as if he spoke sense and to some determinate purpose; it is very strange that, conceiving himself to be the *Champion of the Church of England*, he should bid such a generall defiance to the *Calvinists*. For, he knows, or perhaps I may better say he did know before this Phrensy had subverted both his Understanding and Memory, that most of our ancient, and many of the later Bishops nearer our times, did both hold and maintain those Doctrines which he traduces under that by-word. And the contrary Opinions were even in Bishop *Prideaux's* time accounted so novel

novel, that, being then publick Professor of *Divinity*, he thought fit to tax Doctor *Heylin* at the Commencement for his new-fangled *Divinity*: *Cujus*, saith he, in the very words of promotion, *te Doctorem creo*. He knew likewise that of our present Bishops, though one had leisure formerly to write a *Rationale* of the *Ceremonies* and *Lyturgie*, and another a *Treatise* of the *Holiness of Lent*; yet that most of them, and 'tis to be supposed all, have studied other Controversies, and at another rate than Mr. *Bayes* his Lead can fathom. And as I know none of them that hath published any *Treatise* against the *Calvinian* tenets, so I have the Honour to be acquainted with some of them who are intirely of that judgment, and differ nothing, but (as of good reason) in the point of *Episcopacy*. And as for that, Bishop *Bramhal*, page 61. hath proved that *Calvin* himself was of the *Episcopal* perswasion. So that I see no reason why Mr. *Bayes* should here and every where be such an enemy to *Controversial skill*, or the *Calvinists*.

But I perceive tis for Bp *Bramball's* sake here that all the Tribe must suffer. This *Bayes* is not a good dog: for he runs at a whole flock of sheep, when Mr. B. was the Deer whom he had in view from the beginning. However having foil'd himself so long with every thing he meets, after him now he goes, and will never leave till he hath run him down. Poor Mr. B. I find that when he was a Boy he pluck'd Bishop *Bramball's* Sloes and ate his *Bullice*; and now, when he is as superannuated as the Bishop's Book, he must be whipt for t, there is no remedy. And yet I have heard, and Mr. *Bayes* himself seems to intimate as much, that how-ever he might in his younger years have mistaken, yet that even as early as Bishop *Bramball's* Discourse, he began to retract: and that as for all his sins against the Church of *England*, he hath in some late Treatises cryed *Peccavi* with a Witness. But Mr. *Bayes*, doth not this now look like *Sorcery* and *Extortion*, which of all crimes you purge your self from so often without an Accuser? For
first;

first ; whereas the old Bishop was at rest, and had under his last Pillow laid by all cares and contests of this lower World ; you by your *Necromancy* have disturb'd him, and rais'd his Ghost to persecute and haunt Mr B. whom doubtless at his death he had pardoned. But if you called him up to ask some Questions too concerning your Ecclesiastical Policy, as I am apt to suppose, I doubt you had no better Answer than in the Song :

Art thou forlorn of God, and com'st to me ?

What can I tell thee then but miserie ?

And then, as for Extortion ; who but such an *Hebrew Jew* as you, would, after an honest man had made so full and voluntary Restitution, not yet have been satisfied without so many pounds of his flesh over into the bargain ? Though J. O. be in a desperate condition, yet methinks Mr. B. not *being past Grace*, should not neither *have been past Mercy*. Are there no terms of Pardon, Mr. *Bayes* ? is there no time for Expiation ? but, after so ample a Confession as he hath

hath made, must he now be hang'd too to make good the Proverb? It puts me in mind of a Story in the time of the *Guelphs* and *Ghibilines*, whom I perceive Mr. Bayes hath heard of: They were two Factions in *Italy*, of which the *Guelphs* were for the Pope, and the *Ghibilines* for the Emperour; and these were for many years carried on and fomented with much animosity, to the great disturbance of Christendom. Which of these two were the *Nonconformists* in those days, I can no more determine, than which of our Parties here at home is now *schismatical*. But so *nonconformable* they were to one another, that the Historian said they took care to differ in the least circumstances of any humane action: and, as those that have the Malons Word, secretly discern one another; so in the peeling or cutting but of an Onion, a *Guelph* and *vice versa* would at first sight have distinguished a *Ghibiline*. Now one of this latter sort coming at *Rome* to Confession upon *Ass-mednesday*, the Pope or the Penitentiary sprinkling Ashes on the Man's head with

with the usual ceremony instead of pronouncing *Memento homo quod Cinis es & in Cinerem revertèris*, changed it to *Memento homo quod Ghibilinus es &c.* And even thus it fares with Mr. B. who though he should creep on his knees up the whole Stairs of *Scholastick Penitence*, I am confident neither he, nor any of his Party, shall by Mr. Bayes his good will ever be absolved. And therefore truly if I were in Mr. B's case, if I could not have my Confession back again, yet it should be a warning unto me not without better grounds to be so coming and so good d-natured for the future.

But whatever he do, I hope others will consider what usage they are like to find at Mr. Bayes's hand, and not suffer themselves by the touch of his *Penitential Rod* to be transformed into Beasts, even into *Rats*, as here he hath done with Mr. B. I have indeed wondered often at this Bayes his insolence, who summons-in all the World, and preacheth up only this *Repentance* : and so frequently in his Books he calls for *Testimonies, Signal Marks, Publick Acknowledg-*

knowledge, Satisfaction, Recantation, and I know not what. He that hath made the passage to Heaven so easie that one may fly thither without Grace, (as *Gonzales* to the Moon only by the help of his *Gansa's*); he that hath *disintricated* its narrow paths from those *Labyrinths* which *J. O.* and *Mr. B.* have planted; this Overseer of God's Highways, (if I may with reverence speak it) who hath paved a broad Causeway with Moral Virtue thorow his Kingdom; he me-thinks should not have made the *process of Loyalty* more difficult than that of *Salvation*. What *Signal Marks*, what *Testimonies* would he have of this Conversion? Every man cannot, as he hath done, write an *Ecclesiastical Policy*, a *Defence*, a *Preface*: and some, if they could, would not do it after his manner; lest in stead of obliging thereby the King and the Church, it should be a Testimony to the contrary. Neither, unless men have better Principles of Allegiance at home, are they likely to be reduced by *Mr. Boyes* his way of perswasion. He is the
first

first Minister of the Gospel that ever had it in his Commission to rail at all Nations. And, though it hath been long practised, I never observed any great success by reviling men into Conformity. I have heard that Charms may even invire the Moon out of Heaven, but I never could see her moved by the Rhetorick of Barking. I think it ought to be highly penal for any man to impose other conditions upon his Majesties good Subjects than the King expects, or the Law requires. When you have done all, you must yet appear before Mr. Bayes his Tribunal, and he hath a new Test yet to put you to. I must confess at this rate the Nonconformists deserve some Compassion: that after they have done or suffered legally and to the utmost, they must still be subjected to the wand of a Verger, or to the wanton lash of every Pedant; that they must run the Ganteloop, or down with their breeches as oft as he wants the prospect of a more pleasing Nudity. But I think they may chuse whether they will submit or no to his

Juris-

Jurisdiction. Let them but (as I hope they do) fear God, honour the King, preserve their Consciences, follow their Trades, and look to their Chimnies ; and they need not fear Master Bayes and all his Malice. But after he hath sufficiently insulted over Mr. B's ignorance and vanity, with other Complements of the like nature, in recompence of that *candor and civility* which he acknowledges *him to have now learnt towards the Church of England*, Mr. Bayes (forgetting what had past long since betwixt him and the Bookseller) saith, in excuse of his severity, that *this Treatise was not published to impair Mr. B's esteem in the least, but for a correction of his scribbling humour, and to warn their Rational Divines that are perpetually nibbling and gnawing other mens Writings.* Now I must counsel Mr. Bayes this is a very handsome Welcome to Mr. B. that was come so far to see you, and doubtless upon this encouragement he will visit you often. This is an admirable dexterity our Author hath (I wish I could learn it) to correct a man's scribbling humour.

mour without impairing in the least his reputation. He is as courteous as Lightning, and can melt the Sword without ever hurting the Scabbard. But as for their *Rat-Drivnes*, I wonder they are not all poysoned with nibling at his Writings; he hath strewed so much *Arsenick* in every leaf. But however methinks he should not have grudged them so slender a sustenance. For though there was a Sow in *Arcadia* so fat and insensible that she suffered a Rats nest in her buttock, and they had both Dyet and Lodging in the same Gammon; yet it is not every *Rats* good fortune to be so well provided. And for *Pushpin-Divinity* I confess it is a new term of Art, and I shall henceforward take notice of it, but I am afraid in general it doth not tend much to the reputation of the Faculty.

And now, though he told us at the beginning, that the Bookseller was the main reason of publishing this Book of the B Shop and his own Preface, he tells us that the main reason of its publication was to give some check to their present

sent disingenuity, that is to say to that of *J. O.* And *J. O.* be it at present. He is come so much nearer however to the Truth, though we shall find ere we have done that there is still a mainer reason.

When I first took notice of this misunderstanding betwixt Mr. Bayes and *J. O.* I considered whether it were not Execution-day with the whole *Latine Alphabet* : whether all the Letters were not to suffer in the same manner, except *C* only, which (having been the mark of Condemnation) might have a pardon to serve for the Executioner. I began to repent of my Undertaking, being afraid that the Quarrel was with the whole *Cris-cross-Rom*, and that we must fight it out through all the Squadrons of the *Vowels*, the *Mutes* the *Semi-vowels* and the *Liquids*. I foresaw a sore and endless labour, and a battel the longest that ever was read of ; being probable to continue as long as one Letter was left alive, or there were any use of Reading. Therefore, to spare mine own pains, and prevent *Ink-sbed*, I was advising the Letters to go before

Mr,

Mr. *Bales*, or any other his Majesties Justices of Peace, to swear that they were in danger of their Lives, and desire that Mr. *Bayes* might be bound to the *Good-behaviour*. But after this I had another Phancy, and that not altogether unreasonable; that Mr. *Bayes* had, onely for health and exercise-sake, drawn $\text{£. } 0.$ by chance out of the number of the rest, to try how he could rail at a Letter, and that he might be well in breath upon any occasion of greater consequence. For, how perfect soever a man may have been in any Science; yet without continual practice he will find a sensible decay of his faculty. Hence also, and upon the same natural ground, it is the wisdom of Cats to whet their Claws against the Chairs and Hangings, in meditation of the next *Rat* they are to encounter. And I am confident that Mr. *Bayes* by this way hath brought himself into so good railing-case, that pick what Letter you will out of the Alphabet, he is able to write an Epistle upon it of 723 pages (I have now told them right) to

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the Author of the *Friendly Debates*.

Now though this had very much of probability, I had yet a further Conjecture; that this *J.O.* was a *Talisman*, signed under some pecoliar influence of the heavenly bodies, and that the Fate of Mr. *Bayes* was bound up within it. Whether it be so or no I know not: but this I am assured of, without the help either of *Syderal Magick* or *Judicial Astrologie*, that when *J* and *O* are in *Conjunction* they do more certainly than any of the *Planets* forebode that a great *Ecclesiastical Politician* shall that Year run mad. I confess after all this, when I was come to the dregs of my phansie (for we all have our infirmities, and Mr. *Bayes* his *Defence* was but the *blemish* of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and this *Preface* the *Tap-droppings* of his *Defence*) I reflected whether Mr. *Bayes* having no particular cause of indignation against the Letters, there might not have been a mistake of the Printer, and that they were to be read in one word *To* that uses to go before *Pæan*: that is in English a *Triumph Before the Victory*.

Story. Or whether it alluded to *Io* that we read of at School, the Daughter of *Inachus*; and that as *Juno* persecuted the Heifer, so this was an *He-Cow*, that is to say a *Bull* to be baited by Mr. *Bayes* the *Thunderer*. But these being Conceits too trivial, though a *Ragoust* fit enough for Mr. *Bayes* his palate, I was forced moreover to quit them, remarking that it was an *J* Consonant. And I plainly at last perceived that this *J.* O. was a very Man as any of us are; and had a Head, and a Mouth with Tongue and Teeth in it, and Hands with Fingers and Nails upon them: nay, that he could read and write, and speak as well as I or Mr. *Bayes*, either of us. When I once found this, the business appear'd more serious, and I was willing to see what was the matter that so much exasperated Mr. *Bays*, who is a *Person*, as he saith himself, of such a tame & softly humour, & so cold a complexion, that he thinks himself scarce capable of hot and passionate impressions. I conclude that necessarily there must be some extraordinary Accident &

Occasion that could alter so good a Nature. For I saw that he pursued J. O. if not from *Post to Pillar*, yet from *Pillar to Post*, and I discerned all along the footsteps of a most inveterate and implacable Malice. As oft as he does but name those two first Letters, he is, like the Island of *Fayal*, on fire in three-score and ten places.

You see, Mr. *Bayes*, that I too have improved my wit with reading the *Gazetts*. Were you of that Fellows diet here about Town, that epicurizes upon burning Coals, drinks healths in scalding Brimstone, scraunches the Glasses for his *Dessert*, and draws his breath through glowing Tobacco pipes. Nay, to say a thing yet greater; had you never tasted other sustenance than the Focus of *burning Glasses*, you could not shew more *flame* than you do always upon that subject. And yet one would think that even from the *little sports*, with your *comfortable importance* after supper, you should have learnt when J. O. came into play, to love your Love with an J. because he is *Judicious*,

cious, though you *hate your Love with an J*, because he is *jealous*: and then to *love your Love with an O*, because he is *Oraculous*, though you *hate your love with an O*, because he is *Obscure*: Is it not strange, that in those most benign minutes of a Man's life, when the Stars simile, the Birds sing, the Winds whisper, the Fountains warble, the Trees blossom, and universal Nature seems to invite it selfe to the *Bridal*; When the Lion pulls in his Claws, and the Aspick layes by its Poyson, and all the most noxious Creatures grow amorously innocent: that even then, Mr. *Bayes* alone should not be able to refrain his Malignity? As you love your self *Madam*, let him not come near you. He hath been fed all his life with Vipers instead of Lampreys, and Scorpions for Crayfish: and if at any time he eat Chickens they had been cramb'd with Spiders, till he hath so invenomed his whole substance that 'tis much safer to bed with a Mountebank before he hath taken his Antidote. But it cannot be any vulgar sur-

nace that hath chafed so *cool* a Salamander. 'Tis not the strewing of *Comitch* in his *Genial-bed* that could thus disquiet him the first night. And therefore let's take the Candle and see whether there be not some body underneath that hath cut the Bed-Cords.

There was a worthy Divine, not many years dead, who in his younger time being of a facetious and unlucky humour, was commonly known by the name of *Tom Triplet*. He was brought up at *Pauls School*, under a severe Master, Dr. *Gill*, and from thence he went to the University. There he took liberty (as 'tis usual with those that are emancipated from School) to tel Tales, and make the Discipline ridiculous under which he was bred. But, not suspecting the Doctor's intelligence, coming once to Town, he went in full School to give him a Visit, and expected no less than to get a *Play-day* for his former acquaintance. But, instead of that, he found himself hors'd up in a trice; though he appeal'd in vain to the Priviledges of the University

ty, pleaded *Adultus*, and invoked the mercy of the Spectators. Nor was he let down till the Master had planted a Grove of Birch in his back-side, for the Terrour and publick Example of all Waggs that divulge the Secrets of *Priscian*, and make merry with their Teachers. This stuck so with *Triplet*, that all his life-time he never forgave the Doctor, but sent him every New-years-tide an Anniversary Ballad to a new Tune, and so in his turn avenged himself of his jerking Pedagogue.

Now when I observed that of late years Mr. *Bayes* had regularly spawned his Books; in 1670 the *Ecclesiastical Policy*; in 1671 the *Defence of the Ecclesiastical Policy*; and now in 1672 this Preface to Bishop *Bramhal*, & that they were writ in a stile so vindictive and poynant, that they wanted nothing but rime to be right *Tom Triplet*; and that their edge bore alwayes upon *£.0.* either in broad meanings or in plain terms; I began to suspect that where there was so great resemblance in the Effects, there might be some parallel in

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their Causes. For though the Peeks of Players among themselves, or of Poet against Poet, or of a Conformist-Divine against a Nonconformist, are dangerous, and of late times have caused great disturbance; yet I never remarked so irreconcilable and implacable a spirit as that of Boyes against their Schoolmasters or Tutors. The quarrels of their Education have an influence upon their Memories and Understandings for ever after. They cannot speak of their Teachers with any patience or civility; and their discourse is never so flippant, nor their Wits so fluent as when you put them upon that *Theme*. Nay, I have heard old Men, otherwise, sober, peaceable and good-natured, who never could forgive *Osbolston*, as the younger are still inveighing against Dr. *Busby*. It were well that both old and young would reform this vice, and consider how easie a thing it is upon particular grudges, and as they conceive out of a just censure, to slip either into juvenile petulancy or inveterate uncharitableness. And had there

there not been something of this in his own case, I am confident Mr. *Bayes* in his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, in order to the publick Peace and security of the Government, could not have failed to admonish Princes to beware of this growing Evil, and to brandish the *Publick Rods* if not *the Axes* against the Boyes, to teach them better manners. And he would have assured them that they might have done it with all safety, notwithstanding that there were in proportion an hundred Boyes against one *Preceptor*. But therefore is it not possible that *J. O.* and Mr. *Bayes* have known one another formerly in the University; and that (as in Seniority there is a kind of Magistracy) *Bayes* being yet young, *J. O.* conceiv'd himself in those dayes to be his Superiour, and exercised an Academical Jurisdiction or Dominion over him? Now whether *J. O.* might not be too severe upon him there (for all men are prone to be cogent and supercilious when they are in Office) or whether Mr. *Bayes* might not make some little escapes and excursions there
(as

(as young men are apt to do when they are got together) that I know not, and rather believe the contrary. But that is certain that the young Wits in the Universities have alwayes an animosity against the Doctors, and take a peculiar felicity in having a lucky hit at any of them. I rather suppose that after Mr. *Bayes* had changed the place, and his condition, to be the Noblemans Chaplain, he might commit some exorbitance in *J.O.*'s opinion, or preach or write something to *J.O.*'s reproach, and published the Secrets of the *Holy Brotherhood*: and that *J.O.* having got him within his reach, did therefore (figuratively speaking)

— *Instead of Maid Fillian*

Take up his Malepillian,

And whipt him like a baggage —

as *Tom Triplet* expresses it. This might well raise Mr. *Bayes* his Choler, who, considering himself to be now in Holy Orders, and conceiving that he had been as safe as in a Sanctuary under his Patrons protection, must needs take it ill to be handled so irreverently. If it were

were thus in Fact, and that J. O. might presume too much upon his former Authority to give him Correction; yet it is the more excusable, if Mr. Bayes had on his part been guilty of so much dissingenuity. For though a man may be allowed once in his life to change his Party, and the whole Scene of his Affairs, either for his Safety or Preferment; nay, though every man be obliged to change an hundred times backward and forward, if his Judgment be so weak & variable; yet there are some drudgeries that no man of Honour would put himself upon, and but few submit to if they were imposed. As suppose one had thought fit to pass over from one Perswasion of the Christian Religion unto another, he would not chuse to spit thrice at every Article that he relinquished, to curse solemnly his Father and Mother for having educated him in those Opinions, to animate his new Acquaintances to the massacring of his former Camarades. These are businessses that can only be expected from a Renegade of

Argier

Argier or *Tunis*; to over-doe in expiation, and gain better credence of being a sincere *Musulman*. And truly, though I can scarcely believe that Mr. *Bayes* hath so mean and desperate intentions, which yet his words seem too often to manifest; the Offices however which he undertakes are almost as dishonourable. For he hath so studied and improved their *Jargon* as he calls it, heard their Sermons and Prayers so attentively, searched the Scriptures so narrowly, that a man may justly suspect he had formerly set up of J. O's Profession, and having the language so perfectly, hath upon *this juncture of affairs* betaken himself to turn *Spy* and *Intelligencer*; and 'tis evident that he hath travell'd the Country for that purpose. So that I cannot resemble him better than to that Politick Engine who about two years ago was employed by some of *Oxford* as a *Missionary* amongst the Nonconformists of the adjacent Counties; and upon design, either gathered a Congregation of his own, or preach'd amongst others, till having got all their

Names

Names, he threw off the Vizard, and appear'd in his own Colours, an honest *Informer*. But I would not have any man take Mr. *Bayes* his *Fanatical Geography* for authentick, lest he should be as far misled, as in the situation of *Geneva*. It suffices that Mr. *Bayes* hath done therein as much as served to his purpose, and mixed probability enough for such as know not better, and whose cares are of a just bore for his fable.

But *I. O.* being of age and parts sufficient either to manage or to neglect this Quarrel, I shall as far as possible decline the mentioning of him, seeing I have too upon further intelligence and consideration found that he was not the person whom Mr. *Bayes* principally intended. For the truth of it is, the King was the Person concern'd from the beginning.

His Majesty before his most happy and miraculous Restauration, had sent over a Declaration of his Indulgence to tender Consciences in Ecclesiastical matters. Which, as it was doubtless the real Result of the last Advice left
Him

Him by his glorious Father, and of his own consummate Prudence and natural Benignity; so at his Return he religiously observed and promoted it as far as the Passions and Influences of the contrary Party would give leave. For, whereas among all the decent Circumstances of his welcom Return, the Providence of God had so cooperated with the duty of his Subjects, that so glorious an Action should neither be soiled with the blood of Victory, nor lessened by any capitulations of Treaty, so not to be wanting on his part in courtesy, as I may say, to so happy a conjuncture, He imposed upon himself an Oblivion of former offences, and this Indulgence in Ecclesiastical affairs. And to royal and generous minds no stipulations are so binding as their own voluntary promises: nor is it to be wondred if they hold those Conditions that they put upon themselves the most inviolable. He therefore carried the Act of Oblivion and Indempnity thorow: that Party who had suffered so vastly in the late Combustions not refusing to imitate

rate his Generosity, but throwing all their particular Losses & Resentments into the publick Reckoning. But when it came to the Ecclesiastical Part, the accomplishment of which onely, remain'd behind to have perfected his Majesty's felicity, the business I warrant you would not go so, (as I shall have occasion to say more particularly.) For, though I am sorry to speak it, yet it is a sad truth, that the Animosities and Obstinacy of some of the Clergy have in all Ages been the greatest Obstacle to the Clemency, Prudence and good Intentions of Princes, and the Establishment of their Affairs. His Majesty therefore expected a better season, and having at last rid himself of a great Minister of State who had headed this Interest, he now proceeded plainly to recommend to his Parliament effectually and with repeated instances, the Consideration of tender Consciences. After the Kings last representing of this matter to the Parliament, Mr. *Bayes* took so much time as was necessary for the maturing of so accurate

accurate a Book which was to be the standard of Government for all future Ages, and he was happily delivered in 1670 of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*. And, though he thought fit in this first Book to treat his Majesty more tenderly than in those that followed, yet even in this he doth all along use great liberty and presumption. Nor can what he objects, page 282, to weak Consciences, take place so justly upon them as upon himself: *who, while his Prince might expect his Compliance, doth give him Council, advises him how to govern the Kingdom, blames and corrects the Laws, and tells him how this and the other might be mended.* But that I may not involve the thing in generals, but represent undeniably Mr. Bayes his performance in this undertaking. I shall without Art write down his own Words and his own *quod Scripsi Scripsi*, as they ly naked to the view of every Reader.

The grand Thesis upon which he stakes not onely all his own Divinity and Policy, his Reputation, Preferment,

ment and Conscience, (of most of which he hath no reason to be prodigal) but even the Crowns and Fate of Princes, and the Liberties, Lives and Estates, and, which is more, the Consciencēs of their Subjects, (which are too valuable to be trusted in his disposal,) is this, pag. 10. *That it is absolutely necessary to the peace and government of the World, that the supream Magistrate of every Commonwealth should be vested with a Power to govern and conduct the Consciencēs of Subjects in affairs of Religion.* And pag. 12. he explains himself more fully: *that Unless Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantageous to publick peace and tranquillity, and restrain those religious mistakes that tend to its subversion, they are no better then Statues and Images of Authority.* pag. 13. *A Prince is endued with a Power to conduct Religion, and that must be subject to his Dominion as well as all other Affairs of State.* P. 27. *If Princes should forgoe their Sovereignty over mens Consciencēs in matters of Religion, they leave themselves less power than*

is absolutely necessary, &c. And in brief: The supream Government of every Commonwealth, where-ever it is lodged, must of necessity be universal, absolute, and uncontrollable in all affairs whatsoever that concern the Interests of Mankind and the ends of Government, P. 32. He in whom the supream Power resides, having Authority to assign to every Subject his proper function, and among others these of the Priesthood; the exercise thereof as he has power to transfer upon others, so he may if he please reserve it to himself. P. 33. Our Saviour came not to unsettle the Foundations of Government, but left the Government of the World in the same condition he found it. P. 34. The Government of Religion was vested in Princes by an antecedent right to Christ.— This being the Magisterial and main Point that he maintains, the rest of his Assertions may be reckoned as Corollaries to this Thesis, and without which indeed such an unlimited Maxime can never be justified. Therefore, to make a Conscience fit for the nonse, he sayes, p. 89. Men may think of things according to their own per-

perswasions, and assert the freedom of their judgments against all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the Mind of Man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is intellectual, &c. Whilst Conscience acts within its proper sphere, the Civil Power is so far from doing it violence, that it never can. P. 92. Mankind have the same natural right to Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religious Worship as in Affairs of Justice and Honesty; that is to say, a Liberty of Judgment, but not of Practice. And in the same page he determines Christian Liberty to be founded upon the Reasonableness of this Principle. P. 308. In cases and disputes of Publick concernment, Private men are not properly *sui Juris*; They have no power over their own actions: they are not to be directed by their own judgments, or determined by their own wills, but by the commands and determinations of the Publick Conscience; and if there be any sin in the Command, he that imposed it shall answer for it, and not I whose whole duty it is to obey. The Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will

ballow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin, if not from error: and in all doubtful and disputable cases, 'tis better to err with Authority than to be in the right against it: not only because the danger of a little error (and so it is if it be disputable) is outweighed by the importance of the great duty of Obedience, &c.

Another of his Corollaries is, That God hath appointed (p. 80.) the Magistrates to be his Trustees upon Earth, and his Officials to act and determine in Moral Virtues and Pious Devotions according to all accidents and emergencies of affairs: to assign new particulars of the Divine Law; to declare new bounds of right and wrong, which the Law of God neither doth nor can limit. P. 69. Moral Virtue being the most material and useful part of all Religion, is also the utmost end of all its other duties. P. 76. All Religion must of necessity be resolved into Enthusiasm or Morality. The former is meer Imposture; and therefore all that is true must be reduced to the latter. Having thus enabled the Prince, dispensed with Conscience, and fitted up a Moral Religion for that Conscience;

to show how much those Moral Virtues are to be valued, P. 53. of the Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Policy* he affirms, that 'tis absolutely necessary to the Peace and happiness of Kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe Government over Mens Consciences and Religious Perswasions, than over their Vices and Immoralities. And, pag. 55. of the same, that Princes may with less hazard give liberty to mens Vices and Debaucheries than their Consciences. But for what belongs particularly to the use of their Power in Religion; he first (p. 56. of his Book) saith, that the Protestant Reformation hath not been able to resettle Princes in their full and natural rights in reference to its concerns: & 58. most Protestant Princes have been frightened, not to say hector'd out of the exercise of their Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. P 271. If Princes will be resolute (and if they will govern so they must be) they may easily make the most stubborn Conscience bend to their resolutions. P. 221. Princes must be sure to bind on at first their Ecclesiastical Laws with the straitest knot, and afterward keep them in force by the severity of their execution. 222.

speaking of honest and well meaning men: So easy is it for men to deserve to be punished for their Consciences, that there is no Nation in the World, in which were Government rightly understood and duly managed, mistakes and abuses of Religion would not supply the Gallies with vastly greater numbers than Villany. Pag. 54. of the Preface to Ecclesiast. Policy. of all Villians the well meaning Zealot is the most dangerous. P. 49. The Fanatick-Party in Country Towns and Villages ariseth not (to speak within compass) above the proportion of one to twenty. Whilst the publick peace and settlement is so unluckily defeated by quarrels and mutinies of Religion, to erect and create new Trading Combinations, is only to build so many Nests of Faction and Sedition, &c. For it is notorious that there is not any sort of people so inclinable to seditious practices as the Trading part of a Nation. And now though many as material passages might be heap'd up out of his Book on all these and other as tender Subjects, I shall conclude this imperfect enumeration with one Corollary more, to which
indeed

indeed his grand Thesis and all the superstructures are subordinate and accommodated. P. 166. *Princes cannot pluck a pin out of the Church, but the State immediately shakes and totters.* This is the *Syntagm* of Mr. Bayes his Divinity, and *System* of his Policy: The Principles of which confine upon the *Territories* of *Malmsbury*, and the stile, as far as his Wit would give him leave, imitates that Language: But the Arrogance and Dictature with which he imposes it on the world, surpasses by far the presumption either of *Gondibert* or *Leviathan*. For he had indeed a very Politick fetch or two that might have made a much wiser man than he, more confident. For he imagined first of all, that he had perfectly secured himself from any mans answering him: not so much upon the true reason, that is, because indeed so paltry a Book did not deserve an Answer; as because he had so confounded the Question with differing terms and contradictory expressions, that he might upon occasion affirm whatsoever he denied, or deny

whatsoever he affirmed. And then besides, because he had so intangled the matter of Conscience with the Magistrates Power, that he supposed no man could handle it thorowly without bringing himself within the Statute of treasonable words, and at least a *Premunire*. But last of all, because he thought that whosoever answered him must for certain be of a contrary Judgment; and he that was of a contrary Judgment should be a Fanatick; and if one of them presumed to be meddling, then Mr. Bayes (as all Divines have a *Non obstante* to the *Fejunium Cecilianum*, and to the *Act of Oblivion* and *Indempnity*) would either burn that, or tear it in pieces. Being so well fortified on this side, upon the other he took himself to be impregnable. His Majesty must needs take it kindly that he gave him so great an accession of *Territory*: and, lest he should not be thought rightly to understand Government, nay lest Mr. Bayes by virtue of P. 271. should not think him fit to govern, he could not in prudence and safety but submit to his

his Admonition and Instructions. But if he would not, Mr. *Bayes* knew, ay that he did, how to be even with him, and would write another Book that should do his business. For, the same Power that had given the Prince that Authority, could also revoke it.

But let us see therefore what success the whole Contrivance met with, or what it deserved. For, after things have been laid with all the depth of humane Policy, there happens lightly some ugly little contrary accident from some quarter or other of Heaven, that frustrates and renders all ridiculous.

And here, for brevity and distinction sake, I must make use of the same privilege by which I call him Mr. *Bayes*, to denominate also his several Aphorisms or Hypotheses: and let him take care whether or no they be significant.

First, *The Unlimited Magistrate.*

Secondly, *The Publick Conscience.*

Thirdly, *Moral Grace.*

Fourthly, *Debauchery Tolerated.*

Fifthly, *Persecution recommended.*

And lastly, *Pushpin-Divinity.*

And

And now, though I intend not to be longer than the nature of *Animadversions* requires, (this also being but collateral to my work of examining the Preface, and having been so abundantly performed already) yet neither can I proceed well without some Preface. For, as I am obliged to ask pardon if I speak of serious things ridiculously; so I must now beg excuse if I should hap to discourse of ridiculous things seriously. But I shall, so far as possible, observe *decorum*, and, whatever I talk of, not commit such an Absurdity, as to be grave with a Buffoon. But the principal cause of my Apology is, because I see I am drawn in to mention Kings and Princes, and even our own; whom, as I think of with all duty and reverence, so I avoid speaking of either in jest or earnest, lest by reason of my private condition & breeding, I should, though most unwillingly, trip in a word, or fail in the mannerliness of an expression. But Mr. Bayes, because Princes sometimes hear men of his quality play their Part, or preach a Sermon,

mon, grows so insolent that he thinks himself fit to be their Governour. So dangerous it is to let such creatures be too familiar. They know not their distance, and like the As in the Fable, because they see the Spaniel play with their Masters Leggs, they think themselves priviledged to paw and ramp upon his Shoulders. Yet though I must follow his track now I am in, I hope I shall not write after his Copy.

As for his first Hypothesis of the *Unlimited Magistrate*, I must for this once do him right, that after I had read in his 12th page, that *Princes have power to bind their subjects to that Religion they apprehend most advantageous to publick Peace and Tranquility*; a long time after, not as I remember till pag. 82. when he bethought himself better, he saith, *No Rites nor Ceremonies can be esteemed unlawful in the Worship of God, unless they tend to debauch men either in their practices or their conceptions of the Deity.* But no man is in Ingenuity obliged to do him that service for the future; neither yet doth that limitation

on

on bind up or interpret what he before
 so loosely affirmed. However, take all
 along the Power of the Magistrate as
 he hath stated it; I am confident if
 Bishop *Bramhall* were alive (who could
 no more forbear *Grotius*, than Mr. *Bayes*
 could the Bishop, notwithstanding their
 friendship) he would bestow the same
 Censure upon him that he doth upon
Grotius, p. 18. When I read his Book of
 the Right of the Sovereign Magistrate in
 Sacred things, he seem'd to me to come too
 near an *Erastian*, and to lessen the power
 of the Keys too much, which Christ left as
 a Legacy to his Church. It may be he did
 write that before he was come to full ma-
 turity of judgment: and some other things,
 I do not say after he was superannuated,
 but without that due deliberation which he
 useth at other times; (wherein a man
 may desire Mr. *Bayes* in Mr. *Bayes*) Or
 it may be some things have been changed in
 his Book, as I have been told by one of his
 nearest friends, and that we shall shortly
 see a more Authentick Edition of all his
 Works. This is certain, that some of those
 things which I dislike, were not his own
 judg-

judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters. And had Mr. Bayes (as he ought to have done) carryed his Book to any of the Bishops, to whom it belongs, or their Chaplains, for a Licence to print it, I cannot conceive that he could have obtained it in better terms than what I have collected out of the 108 page of his Answerer: *Notwithstanding the old Pleas of the Jus Divinum of Episcopacy, of Example and Direction Apostolical, of a Parity of Reason between the condition of the Church whilst under Extraordinary Officers, and whilst under Ordinary, of the power of the Church to appoint Ceremonies for Decency and Order, of the patern of the Churches of old; (all which under Protestation are reserved till the first opportunity;)* I have upon reading of this Book, found that it may be of use for the *present Juncture of Affairs*, and therefore let it be printed. And, as I think, he hath disobliged the Clergy of *England* in this matter; so I believe the favour that he doth his Majesty is not equivalent to that damage. For (that I may, with Mr. Bayes his leave, pro-

prophane Ben. Johnson;) though the gravest Divines should be his Flatterers; he hath a very quick sense, and (shall I prophane Horace too in the same period?)

Hunc male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus.

If one stroke him ilfavouredly, he hath a terrible way of kicking, and will fling you to the Stable door; but is himself safe on every side. He knows it's all but that you may get into the Saddle again; and that the Priest may ride him, though it be to a Precipice. He therefore contents Himself with the Power that He hath inherited from his Royal Progenitors Kings and Queens of *England*, and as it is declared by Parliament: and is not to be trepann'd into another kind of Tenure of Dominion to be held at Mr. Bayes his pleasure, and depend upon the strength only of his Argument. But (that I may not offend in Latin too frequently) he considers that by not assuming a Deity to himself, he becomes secure and worthy of his Government. There are lightly about

about the Courts of Princes a sort of Projectors for Concealed Lands, to which they entitle the King, to begg them for themselves: and yet generally they get not much by it, but are exceeding vexatious to the Subject. And even such an one is this Mr. Bayes with his Project of a *Concealed Power*, that most Princes, as he said, *have not yet rightly understood*; but whereof the King is so little enamour'd, that I am confident, were it not for prolling and molesting the People, his Majesty would give Mr. Bayes the Patent for it, and let him make his best on't, after he hath paid the Fees to my Lord-Keeper.

But one thing I must confess is very pleasant, and he hath past an high Complement upon his Majesty in it; that he may, if he please, reserve the Priesthood and the Exercise of it to himself. Now this indeed is surprizing; but this onely troubles me, how his Majesty would look in all the Sacerdotal habiliments, and the Pontifical Wardrobe. I am afraid the King would find himself incommoded with all that furniture upon

on his back; and would scarce reconcile himself to wear even the Lawn-sleeves and the Surplice. But what even *Charls the fifth*, as I have read, was at his Inauguration by the Pope, content to be vested, according to the Roman Ceremonial, in the habit of a Deacon: and a man would not scruple too much the formality of the dress in order to Empire.

But one thing I doubt Mr. *Bayes* did not well consider; that, if the King may discharge the Function of the Priesthood, he may too (and 'tis all the reason in the world) assume the Revenue. It would be the best Subsidy that ever was voluntarily given by the Clergy. But truly otherwise, I do not see but that the King does lead a more unblamable Conversation, and takes more care of Souls than many of them, and understands their Office much better, and deserves something already for the pains he hath taken.

The next is *Publick Conscience*. For as to mens private Consciences he hath made them very inconsiderable, and
reading

reading what he saith of them with some attention, I only found this new & important Discovery & great Privilege of Christian Liberty, that *Thought is free*. We are however obliged to him for that, seeing by consequence we may think of him what we please. And this he saith a man may assert against all the Powers of the Earth: And indeed with much reason and to great purpose; seeing, as he also alledges, the Civil Power is so far from doing violence to that liberty, that it never can. But yet if the freedom of thoughts be in not lying open to discovery, there have been wayes of compelling men to discover them; or, if the freedom consist in retaining their judgments when so manifested, that also hath been made penal. And I doubt not but beside *Oaths* and *Renunciations*, and *Assents* and *Consents*, Mr. Bayes, if he were searched, hath twenty other tests and picklocks in his pocket. Would Mr. Bayes then perswade men to assert this against all the Powers of the Earth? I would ask in what manner? To say the truth I do
I not

not like him, and would wish the Non-conformists to be upon their guard, lest he trepan them first by this means into a Plot, and then peach, & so hang them. If Mr. *Bayes* meant otherwise in this matter, I confess my stupidity, and the fault is most his own who should have writ to the capacity of vulgar Readers. He cuts indeed and falters in this discourse, which is no good sign, perswading men that they may, and ought to practise against their Consciences, where the Commands of the Magistrate intervenes. None of them denies that it is their duty, where their Judgements or Consciences cannot comply with what is enjoyned, that they ought in obedience patiently to suffer; but further they have not learned. I dare say that the Casual Divinity of the Jesuites is all thorow as Orthodox as this Maxime of our Authors: and, as the Opinion is brutish, so the Consequences are devilish. To make it therefore go down more glibly, he saith, that *'tis better to err with Authority, than to be in the right against it*

in all doubtful and disputable cases; because the great duty of Obedience outweighs the danger of a little error, (and little it is if it be disputable.) I cannot understand the truth of this reasoning; that whatsoever is disputable is little; for even the most important matters are subject to controversie. And besides, things are little or great according to the Eyes or Understandings of several men; and however, a man would suffer something rather than commit that little error against his Conscience, which must render him an Hypocrite to God, and a Knave amongst Men. The Commands (he saith) and Determinations of the publick Conscience ought to carry it; and if there be any sin in the Command, he that imposed shall answer for it, and not I whose duty it is to obey; (And mark) the Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin if not from error; and so you are welcome Gentlemen. Truly a very fair and conscionable Reckoning! So far is this from hallowing the Action,

that I dare say it will, if followed home, lead only to all that *sanctified Villany*, for the invention of which we are beholden to the Author. But let him have the honour of it: for he is the first Divine that ever taught Christians how another man's sin could confer an *Imputative Righteousness* upon all Mankind that shall follow & comply with it. Though the Subject made me serious, yet I could not reade the expression without laughter: *My Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my Action.* So inconsiderable a difference he seems to make betwixt those terms, That if ever our Author come for his merits in election for to be a Bishop, a man might almost adventure instead of *Consecrated* to say that he was *Excused*.

The third is *Moral Grace*. And whoever is not satisfied with those passages of his concerning it, before quoted, may find enough where he discourseth it at large, even to surfeit. I cannot make either less or more of it than that he overturns the whole fabrick of Christianity, and Power of Religion. For

For my part, if Grace be resolv'd into Morality, I think a man may almost as well make God too to be only a Notional and Moral Existence.

And white-apron'd *Amaryllis*, was of that opinion :

*Ma tu Sanctissima Honestà che sola sei
D'alma ben nata inviolabil Nume.*

But thou most holy *Honesty*, that only art the inviolable Deity of the well-born Soul.

And so too was the Moral Poet: (for why may not I too bring out my Latin shreds as well as he his,

*Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere ver-
pos)*

Nullum Numen abest si sit Prudentia—

There is no need of a Deity where there is Prudence; or, if you will, where there is *Ecclesiastical Policy*.

But so far I must do Mr. *Bayes* right, that, to my best observation, if Prudence had been God, *Bayes*, had been a

most damnable Atheist. Or, perhaps only an Idolater of their number, concerning whom he adds in the next line

sed te

Nos facimus Fortuna Deam Cæloque locamus.

But we make thee Fortune a Goddess, and place thee in Heaven.

However I cannot but be sorry that he hath undertaken this desperate vocation, when there are twenty other honest and painful wayes wherein he might have got a *Living*, and made Fortune propitious. But he cares not upon what Argument or how dangerous he runs to shew his ambitious Activity: whereas those that will dance upon Ropes, do lightly some time or other break their necks. And I have heard that even the *Turk*, every day he was to mount the High-Rope, took leave of his *Comfortable Importance* as if he should never see her more. But this is a matter forreign to my Judicature, and therefore I leave him to be tryed by any Jury of Divines: and, that he may have all right done him, let half of them

them be *School-Divines* and the other moiety *Systematical*, and let him except against as many as the Law allows, and to God send him a good deliverance. But I am afraid he will never come off.

The Fourth is *Debauchery tolerated*. For supposing, as he does, that 'tis better and safer to give a Toleration to mens *Debaucheries* than to their *Religious Persecutions*, it amounts to the same reckoning. This is a very ill way of discouraging; and that a greater severity ought to be exercised over mens *Consciences* than over their *Vices and Immoralities*. For it argues too much indiscretion, by avoiding one evil to run up into the contrary extream. And Debauch'd Persons will be ready hence to conclude, although it be a perverse way of reasoning, That where the Severity ought to be less, the Crime is less also: nay, even that the more they are debauch'd, it is just that the Punishment should still abate in proportion; but however, that it were very imprudent and unadvisable to reform and erre on

the Religious hand, lest they should thereby incur the greater penalties. Mr. *Bayes* would have done much better had he singled out the Theme of Religion. He might have loaded it with all the truth which that subject would bear; I would allow him that *Rebellion is as the sin of Witch-craft*, though that text of Scripture will scarce admit his interpretation. He could not have declaimed more sharply than I, or any honest man else, would upon occasion against all those who under pretence of Conscience raise War, or create publick Disturbances. But Comparisons of Vice are dangerous, and though he should do this without design, yet, while he aggravates upon Religion, and puts it in ballance, he doth so far alleviate and encourage Debauchery. And moreover (which to be sure is against his design) he doth hereby more confirm the austerer sort of Sinners, and furnishes them with a more specious Colour and stronger Argument. It had been better Policy to instruct the Magistrate that there is no
 reader

readier way to shame these our of their Religious Niceties than by improving Mens, Morals. But, as he handles it, never was there any Point more unseasonably exposed; at such a time, when there is so general a depravation of Manners, that even those who contribute towards it do yet complain of it; and though they cannot reform their practice, yet feel the effects, and tremble under the apprehension of the Consequences. It were easie here to shew a man's reading, and to discourse out of History the causes of the decay and ruine of Mr. Bayes his *Roman Empire*; when-as the Moralist has it,

—*seviore armis*
Luxuria incubuit, Victumque ulciscitur
Orbem.

And descending to those Times since Christianity was in the Throne, 'tis demonstrable that for one War upon a Fanatical or Religious account, there have been an hundred occasioned by the thirst of Glory and Empire that hath inflamed some great Prince to invade his Neighbours. And more have sprung

sprung from the Contentiousness and
 Ambition of some of the Clergy; But
 the most of all from the Corruption of
 Manners, and alwayes fatal Debauche-
 ry. It exhausts the Estates of private
 persons, and makes them fit for nothing
 but the High-way or an Army. It de-
 bases the Spirits and weakens the vigor
 of any Nation; at once indisposing
 them for War, and rendring them un-
 capable of Peace. For, if they escape
 intestine troubles, which would cer-
 tainly follow when they had left them-
 selves by their prodigality or intem-
 perance, no other means of subsistence
 but by preying upon one another; then
 must they either, to get a maintenance,
 pick a quarrel with some other Nation,
 wherein they are sure to be worsted;
 or else (which more frequently hap-
 pens) some neighbouring Prince that
 understands Government takes them at
 the advantage, and, if they do not like
 ripe Fruit fall into his lap, 'tis but shak-
 ing the Tree once or twice, and he is
 sure of them. Where the Horses are,
 like those of the *Sybarites*, taught to
 dance,

dance, the Enemy need only learn the Tune and bring the Fiddles. But therefore (as far as I understand) his Majesty to obviate and prevent these inconveniencies in his Kingdoms, hath on the one hand never refused a just Warre; that so he might take down our Grease and Luxury, and keep the *English* Courage in breath and exercise: and on the other, (though himself most constantly addicted to the Church of *England*) hath thought fit to grant some liberty to all other Sober People, (and longer than they are so God forbid they should have it) thereby to give more temper and allay to the common and notorious Debauchery.

But Mr. Bayes nevertheless is for his fifth; *Persecution recommended*: and he does it to the purpose. *Julian* himself, who I think was first a Reader, and held forth in the Christian Churches before he turned Apostate and then Persecutor, could not have outdone him either in Irony or Cruelty. Only it is God's mercy that Mr. Bayes is not Emperour. You have seen how he inveighs

veighs against Trade: *That whilst men's Consciences are acted by such peevish and ungovernable Principles, to erect Trading-Combinations is but to build so many Nests of Faction and Sedition.* Lay up your Ships, my Masters, set Bills on your Shop-doors, shut up the Custom-house; and why not adjourn the Term, mure up *Westminster-hall*, leave Plowing and Sowing, and keep a dismal Holy-day through the Nation; for Mr. *Bayes* is out of humour. But I assure you it is no jesting matter. For he hath in one place taken a List of the Fanatick Ministers, whom he reckons to be but about an hundred *Systematical Divines*: though I believe the *Bartlemew-Register* or the *March-Licences* would make them about an hundred and three or an hundred and four, or so: But this is but for rounder number and breaks no square. And then for their People, either *they live in greater Societies of men* (he means the City of London and the other Cities and Towns-Corporate, but expresses it so to prevent some inconvenience that might betide him)

but

but there their noise is greater than their number. Or else in Country Towns and Villages, where they arise not above the proportion of one to twenty. It were not unwisely done indeed if he could persuade the Magistrate that all the Fanaticks have but one neck, so that he might cut off Nonconformity at one blow. I suppose the Nonconformists value themselves tho upon their Conscience and not their Numbers: but they would do well to be watchful, lest he have taken a List of their Names as well as their Number, and have set Crosses upon all their Doors against there should be occasion. But till that happy juncture, when Mr. Bayes shall be fully avenged of his new Enemies the wealthy Fanaticks (which is soon done too, for he saith there are but few of them men of Estates or Interest) he is contented that they should only be exposed (they are his own expressions) to the Pillories, Whipping-posts, Gallies, Rods, and Axes; and moreover and above, to all other Punishments whatsoever, provided they be of a severer nature than those

those that are inflicted on men for their immoralities. O more than humane Clemency ! I suppose the Division betwixt Immoralities and Conscience is universal, and whatsoever is wicked or penal is comprehended within their *Territories*. So that although a man should be guilty of all those heinous enormities which are not to be named among Christians, beside all lesser Peca-
cadillo's expressly against the ten Com-
mandments, or such other part of the
Divine Law as shall be of the Magi-
strates making, he shall be in a better
condition and more gently handled,
then a *well-meaning ZeLOT*: For this is
the man that Mr. *Bayes* saith is of all
Villains the most dangerous: (even more
dangerous it seems then a malicious
and ill-meaning ZeLOT) this is he whom
in all Kingdoms where Government is
rightly understood, he would have con-
demned to the *Galley's* for his mistakes and
abuses of Religion. Although the other
punishments are more severe, yet this
being more new and unacquainted, I
cannot pass it by without some reflexi-

on. For I considered what Princes make use of Gallies. The first that occurred to me was the *Turk*, who according to *Bayes* his maxim, hath established Mahometism among his subjects, as the *Religion that he apprehends most advantageous to publick peace and settlement*. Now in his Empire the Christians onely are guilty of those *Religious Mistakes that tend to the subversion of Mahometism*: So that he understands Government rightly, in chaining the Christians to the Oar. But then in Christendom, all that I could think of were the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, the Knights of *Malta*, the *Pope*, and the rest of the *Italian* Princes. And these all have bound their Subjects to the *Romish Religion* as most advantageous. But these people their Gallies, with Immoral Fellows and Debauchees: whereas the *Protestants*, being their Fanaticks and mistakers in Religion, should have been their *Cinurma*. But 'tis to be hoped these Princes will take advice and understand it better for the future. And then at last I

re-

remembered that his Majesty too hath one Gally lately built, but I dare say it is not with that intention ; and our Fanaticks, though few, are so many, that one will not serve. But therefore if Mr. *Bayes* and his partners would be at the charge to build the King a whole Squadron for this use, I know not but it might do very well (for we delight in Novelties) and it would be a singular obligation to *Sir John Baptist Dutel*, who might have some pretence to be General of his Majesties Gallies. But so much for that.

Yet in the mean time I cannot but admire at Mr. *Bayes* his courage, who knowing how dangerous a Villain a well-meaning Zealot is, and having calculated to a man how many of them there are in the whole Nation, yet dares thus openly stimulate the Magistrate against them, and talk of nothing less, but much more, than *Pillories*, *Whipping-Posts*, *Galleys*, and *Axes* in this manner. It is sure some sign (and if he knew not so much he would scarce adventure) of the peaceableness of their Principles, and
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of that restraint under which their tender Consciences hold them, when nevertheless he may walk night and day in safety; though it were so easie a thing to deifie the Divine after the antient manner, and no man be the wiser. But that which I confess would vex me most, were I either an ill or a well-meaning Zealot, would be, after all to hear him (as he frequently does) sneering at me in an ironical harangue, to perswade me, forsooth, to take all patiently for Conscience - sake, and the good example of Man-kind: Nay, to wheedle one almost to make himself away to save the Hangman a labour. It was indeed near that pass in the Primitive times, and the tyred Magistrates ask't them, whether they had not Halters, and Rivers, and Precipices, if they were so greedy of Suffering? But, by the good leave of your Insolence, we are not come to that yet. *Non tibi sed Petro*: or rather, *sed Regi*. The Non-conformists have suffered as well as any men in the World, and could do so still if it were his Majesty's pleasure.

K

sure. Their *Duty to God* hath hallowed, and their *Duty to the Magistrate* hath excused both their Pain and Ignominy. To dye by a Noble hand is some satisfaction: But when his Majesty, for Reasons best know to Himself, hath been graciously pleased to abate of your Rigors, I hope Mr. *Bays* that we shall not see when you have a mind to junket with your *Comfortable Importance* that the *Entremeses* shall be of a Fanaticks Giblets: nor that a Nonconformists head must be wip'd off as oft as your nose drivles. 'Tis sufficient, Sir, we know your Inclination, we know your Abilities, and we know your Lodging: And when there is any further occasion you will doubtless be sent for. For, to say the truth, this *Bayes* is an excellent Tool, and more useful than ten other men. I will undertake that he shall rather then fail, be the Trepanner, the Informer, the Witness, the Attorney, the Judg; and, if the Nonconformist need the benefit of his Book, he shall be Ordinary too, and say he is an ignorant fellow, *non legit*: and then,

to do him the last Christian office, he would be his Hangman. In the mean time, let him enjoy it in speculation, secure of all the Employments when they shall fall. For I know no Gentleman that will take any of them out of his hands, although it be an age wherein men cannot well support their quality, without some accession from the publick: and for the ordinary sort of People, they are I know not by what disaster befotted and abandon'd to Fanaticism. So that Mr. *Bayes* must either do it himself in person, or constitute the cheif Magistrate to be his Deputy. But Princes do indeed understand themselves better most of'm, and do neither think it so safe to intrust a Clergy-man with their Authority, nor decent for themselves to do the drudgery of the Clergy. That would have past in the *Dayes* of Saint *Dominick*: but when even the Inquisition hath lost its edge in the Popish Countreyes, there is little appearance it should be set up in *England*. It were a worthy Spectacle, were it not: to see his Majesty

like the Governor in *Synesius*, busied in his Cabinet among those Engines whose very names are so hard that it is some torture to name them ; the *Po-dostraba*, the *Dactylethrea*, the *Otagra*, the *Rhinolabides*, the *Cheilostrophia*, devising, as they say there are particular Diseases, so a peculiar Rack for every Limb and Member of a Christians Body. Or, would he (with all Reverence be it spoken) exchange his Kingdom of *England* for that of *Macassar* ? where the great *Arcanum* of Government is the cultivating of a Garden of venomous Plants, and preparing thence a Poyson, in which the Prince dips a Dart, that where it does but draw blood, rots the person immediatly to pieces ; and his Office is with that to be the Executioner of his Subjects. God be prais'd his Majesty is far of another temper : and he is wise, though some men be malicious.

But Mr. *Bayes* his fixt, is that which I call his *Push-Pin Divinity*. For he would perswade Princes that *there cannot a Pin be pull'd out of the Church but*
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the State immediatly totters. That is strange. And yet I have seen many a Pin pull'd out upon occasion, and yet not so much as the Church it self hath wagg'd. It is true indeed, and we have had sad experiments of it, that some Clergy-men have been so opiniastre that they have rather exposed the State to ruine, than they would part with a Pin, I will not say out of their Church, but out of their Sleeve. There is nothing more natural than for the Ivy to be of opinion that the Oak cannot stand without its support : or, seeing we are got into Ivy, that the Church cannot hold up longer than It underprops the Walls : whereas it is a sneaking insinuating Imp, scarce better than Bindweed, that sucks the Tree dry, and moulders the building where it catches. But what, pray Mr. Bayes, is this Pinne in Pallas's buckler ? Why 'tis some Ceremony or other, that is *indifferent in its own nature*, that *hath no antecedent necessity*, but *only as commanded*, that *signifies nothing in it self*, but *what the Commander pleases*, that even by the Church

which commands it, is declared to have nothing of Religion in it, and that is in itself of no great moment or consequence, only it is absolutely necessary that Governours should enjoyn it to avoid the evils that would follow if it were not determined. Very well, Mr. Bayes. This I see will keep cold: anon perhaps I may have a stomach. But I must take care lest I swallow your Pin.

Here we have had the Titles, and some short Rehearsal of Mr. Bayes his six Playes. Not but that, should we disvalise him, he hath to my knowledg a hundred more as good in his budget: but really I consult mine own repose. But now among friends, was there ever any thing so monstrous? You see what a man may come to with Divinity and High-feeding. There is a scurvy disease, which though some derive from *America*, others tell a story that the *Genoueses* in their Warrs with *Venice* took some of their Noblemen, whom they cut to pieces and barrel'd up like Tunny, and so maliciously vented it to the *Venetians*, who eating it ignorant-

ly,

ly, broke out in those nasty botches and ugly symptoms, that are not curable but by Mercury. What I relate it for is out of no further intention, nor is there any more similitude than that the Mind too hath its Nodes sometimes, and the Stile its Buboës, and that I doubt before Mr. Bayes can be rid of 'm, he must pass through the Grand Cure and a dry Diet.

And now it is high time that I resume the thread of my former History concerning Mr. Bayes his Books in relation to his Majesty. I do not find that the *Ecclesiastical Policy* found more acceptance than could be expected from so judicious a Prince: nor do I perceive that he was ever considered of at a Promotion of Bishops, nor that he hath the reversion of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*. But if he have not by Marriage barr'd his way; and it should ever fall to his lot, I am resolved instead of *his Grace* to call him alwayes *his Morality*. But as he got no Preferment that I know of at Court (though *his Patron* doubtless having many

things in his gift, did abundantly recompence him) so he mist no less of his aim as to the Reformation of Ecclesiastical - Government upon his Principles. But still, what he complains of, pag. 20. *the Ecclesiastical Laws were either weakened through want of Execution, or in a manner cancell'd by the opposition of Civil Constitutions.* For, beside what in *England*, where all things went on at the same rate, in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland* there where I know not how many *Mas Johns* restored in one day to the work of their Ministry, and a door opened whereby all the rest might come in for the future, and all this by his Majesty's Commission. Nay, I think there was (a thing of very ill example) an Arch-Bishop turn'd out of his See for some Misdemeanor or other. I have not been curious after his name nor his crime, because as much as possible I would not expose the nakedness of any person so eminent formerly in the Church. But henceforward the King fell into disgrace with Mr. *Bayes*, and any one that had eyes might discern that

that our Author did not afford his Majesty that Countenance and Favour which he had formerly enjoy'd. So that a Book too of *J. O's* happening mischievously to come out at the same season, Upon pretence of answering that, he resolved to make his Majesty feel the effects of his displeasure. He therefore set pen to paper again, and having kept his Midwife of the *Friendly Debate* by him all the time of his pregnancy for fear of miscarrying, he was at last happily delivered of his second Child, the *Defence of the Ecclesiastical Policy*, in the year 1671. It was a very lusty Baby, and twice as big as the former, and (which some observed as an ill sign, and that if it lived it would prove a great Tyrant) it had, when born, all the Teeth, as perfect as ever you saw in any mans Head. But I do not reckon much upon those ominous criticisimes. For there was partly a natural cause in it, Mr. *Bayes* having gone so many months, more than the Civil Law allows for the utmost term of legitimation, that it was no wonder

der if the Brat were at its birth more forward than others usually are. And indeed Mr. *Bayes* was so provident, against abortion, & careful for some reasons that the Child should cry, that the only question in Town (though without much cause, for truly 'twas very like him) was, whether it was not spurious or suppositious. But Allegories and Raillery and Hard Words apart: In this his second Book, what I quoted before out of Bishop *Brambal*, p. 18. with allusion to our Author, is here falsn out as exactly true as if it had been exprefly calculated for *Bayes* his Meridian. He finds himself to have come too near, nay to have far out-gone an *Erastian*, That he had writ his Ecclesiastical Policy before he was come to maturity of Judgment, that one might desire Mr. *Bays* in Mr. *Bays*, that something had been changed in his Book. That a more authentick Edition was necessary, that some things which he had said before, were not his Judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters.

I will not herein too much insist upon his Reply; where his Answerer asks him pertinently enough to his grand Thesis, what was then become of their old plea of *Justus Divinum*? Why, saith he, must you prescribe me what I shall write? Perhaps my next Book shall be of that Subject. For, perhaps he said so only for evasion, being old excellent at parrying and fencing. Though I have good reason to believe that we may shortly see some Piece of his upon that Theme, and in defence of an Aphorism of a great Prelate in the last King's time, *That the King had no more to do in Ecclesiastical Matters, than Jack that rubb'd his Horses heels.* For Mr. Bayes is so interprising you know, *Look too't, Ile doo't.* He has face enough to say or unsay any thing, and 'tis his priviledge, what the School-Divines deny to be even within the power of the Almighty, to make Contradictions true. An evidence of which (though I reserve the further instances to another occasion that draws near) does plainly appear in what I now principally urge, to

show

show how dangerous a thing it is for his Majesty and all other Princes to lose Mr. Bayes his favour. For whereas he had all along in his first Book treated them like a company of Ignorants, and that did not understand Government, (but that is pardonable in Mr. Bayes) in this his second, now that they will not do as he would have them, when he had given them Power and Instructions how to be wiser for the future, He casts them quite off like men that were desperate. He had, you know, p. 35. of his first Book and in other places, vested them with an universal and unlimited Power, and uncontroulable in the Government of Religion (that is, over mens Consciences) but now in his second, to make them an example to all incorrigible and ungrateful persons, he strips and disrobes them again of all those Regal Ornaments that he had superinduced upon them, and leaves them good Princes in *querpo* as he found 'm, to shift for themselves in the wide World as well as they can. Do but read his own words, p. 237. of his De-
fence

fence, parag. 5. and sure you will be of my mind. To vest the Supreme Magistrate in an unlimited and uncontroulable Power, is clearly to defeat the Efficacy and Obligatory force of all his Laws, that cannot possibly have any binding vertue upon the minds of men, when they have no other inducement to obedients but only to avoid the penalty. But of the Supream Power be absolute and unlimited, it doth for that very reason remove and evacuate all other Obligations, for otherwise it is restrained and conditional; and if men lye under no other impulsion than of the Law it self, they lye under no other obligation than that of prudence and self-interest, and it remains intirely in the choice of their own discretion whether they shall or shall not obey, and then there is neither Government nor Obligation to obedience; and the Principle of mens Compliance with the mind of their Superiours, is not the declaration of their will and pleasure, but purely the determination of their own judgments; and therefore 'tis necessary for the security of Government, though for nothing else, to set bounds to its jurisdiction; Otherwise, like
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the Roman Empire, &c. I know it would be difficult to quote twenty lines in Mr. Bayes but we should encounter with the *Roman Empire*. But observe how laboriously here he hath asserted and proved that all he had said in his first Book was a meer mistake before he were come to years of discretion. For as in Law a Man is not accounted so till he hath compleated 21, and tis but the last minute of that time that makes him his own Man, (as to all things but Conscience I mean, for as to that he saith men are never *sui Juris*) so though the distance of Bayes his Books was but betwixt 1670 and 1671, yet a year, nay an instant at any time of a man's life may make him wiser, and he hath, like all other fruits, his annual maturity. It was so long since as 1670 p. 33. that this *universal Unlimited and Uncontroulable Power* was the natural right of Princes antecedent to Christ, firmly established by the unalterable Dictates of Natural Reason, Universal Practice, and Consent of Nations, that the Scripture rather supposes than asserts the Ecclesiasti-

cal (and so the Civil) *Jurisdiction of Princes.* 'Twas in 1670, p. 10. That it was *absolutely necessary* ; and p. 12. that *Princes have that power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantageous to Publick Peace, &c.* So that they derive their title from *Eternal Necessity*, which the *Moralists* say the *Gods* themselves cannot impeach. His Majesty may lay by his *Dien* and make use onely of his *Mon Drott* : He hath a Patent for his Kingdom, under the Broad Seal of Nature, and next under that, and immediately before Christ, is over all Persons, and in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil (and over all mens Consciences) within his Majesty's Realms and Dominions *Supream Head and Governour.*

'Tis true, the Author sometimes for fashion-sake speaks in that Book of Religion and of a Deity, but his Principles do necessarily, if not in terms, make the Princes Power *Paramount* to both those, and if he may by his uncontrollable and unlimited universal Authority introduce what Religion he may of consequence

sequence what Deity also he pleases. Or, if there were no Deity, yet there must be some Religion, that being an Engine most advantagious for Publick Peace and Tranquillity. This was in 1670. But by 1671. you see the case is altered. Even one night hath made some men gray. And now p. 238. of his second Book, besides what before, p. 237. he hath made Princes accountable, ay and to so severe an Auditor as God himself. *The Thrones of Princes are established upon the Dominion of God.* And p. 241. *'Tis no part of the Princes concernment to institute rules of Moral Good and Evil, that is the care and the Prerogative of a Superiour Law-giver.* And p. 260. He owns, that if the Subjects can plead a clean and undoubted preingagement to that higher Authority, they have a liberty to *remonstrate* to the equity of their Laws. I do not like this Remonstrating nor these Remonstrants. I wish again that Mr. Bayes would tell us what he means by the term, and where it will end, whether he would have the Fanatick's remonstrate: but they are wary, and a-
sham'd

shamed of what they have done in former times of that nature: or whether he himself hath a mind to remonstrate, because the Fanaticks are tolerated. That is the thing, that is the business of this whole Book: and knowing that there is a clear and undoubted preengagement to the higher Authority of Nature and necessity, if the King will persist in tolerating these people, who knows after remonstrating, what Mr. Bayes will doe next? But now in sum what shall we say of this man, and how had the King been served if he had followed *Bayes's* advise, and assumed the power of his first Book? He had run himself into a fine *Premunire*, when now after all he comes to be made accountable to God, nay even to his Subjects. And by this means it happens, though it were beyond Mr. *Bayes* his forecast, and I dare say he would rather have given the Prince again a power antecedent to Christ, and to bring in what Religion he please; he hath obliged him to as tender a Conscience as any of his Christian subjects, and then good-

L night

night to *Ecclesiastical Policy*. I have herein indeavoured the utmost ingenuity towa d Mr. *Bayes*, for he hath laid himself open but to too many disadvantages already, so that I need not, I would not press him beyond measure, but to my best understanding, and if I faile I even ask him pardon, I do him right. 'Tis true, that being distracted betwixt his desire that the Consciences of men should be persecuted, and his anger at Princes that will not be advised, he confounds himself every where in his reasonings, that you can hardly distinguish which is the *Whoop* and which is the *Holla*, and he makes Indentures on each side of the way wheresoever he goes. But no man that is sober will follow him, lest som Justice of Peace should make him pay his five shillings, besides the scandal; and it is apparent to every one what he drives at. But were this otherwise, I can spare it, and 'tis sufficient to my purpose that I do thus historically deduce the reason of his setting forth his Books, and shew that it was plainly to remonstrate

strate against the power of his Prince, and the measures that he hath taken of governing; to set his Majesty at variance not only with his Subjects, but with himself, & to raise a Civil-war in his *Intellectual Kingdom*, betwixt his controulable & his uncontroulable Jurisdiction.

And because, having to do with a wise man, as Mr. *Bayes* is, one may often gather more of his mind out of a word that drops casually, than out of his whole watchful and serious discourse, when he is talking of matters of Policy and that require caution; I cannot slight one passage of Mr. *Bayes*, page 656. Where raging bitterly against all the Prebyterians and other Sects, and as much against the allowing them any Tenderness, Liberty, Toleration or Indulgence, he concludes thus, *Tenderness & Indulgence to such men, were to nourish Vipers in our own Bowels, & the most sottish neglect of our own quiet & security, and we should deserve to perish with the dishonour of Sardapalus*. Now this of *Sardapalus* I remember some little thing ever since

I read, I think it was my *Justice*; and I would not willingly be such a Fool as to make a dangerous Similitude that has no foundation. For if Mr. Bayes in the Preface of his *Defence*, to excuse his long teeming before it were brought forth, places it partly upon his recreations: I know not why much more a Prince should not be willing to enjoy the *innocent comforts of this life, as well as to do the common drugeries*. But I am thinking what Mr. Bayes meant by it; for every Similitude must have, though not all, yet some likeness: Now I am sure there were no Nonconformists and Presbyterians in *Sardanapalus* his dayes, I am sure also that *Sardanapalus* was no Clergyman, that he was no subject; but he was one of the *Uncontrollable* Creatures, that instead of exercising his Ecclesiastical Power delighted in spinning; till some body come in on the sudden, and catching him at it, cut his thred. Come 'tis better we left this Argument and the Company too, for you see the Crime, you see the Sentence: and who ever

it be, there is some Prince or other whom Mr. Bayes will have to perish. That p. 641. is indeed not so severe, but 'tis pretty well; where, on the same kind of Subject, whetting the Prince against those People, he saith, *That Prince that hath felt the pounces of these ravening Vultures, if after that he shall be perswaded to regard their fair speeches at such time as they want power, without other evident and unquestionable tokens of their conversation, deserves to be King of the Night.* Now for this matter, I believe Mr. Bayes knows that his Majesty hath received such evident & unquestionable tokens of Loyalty from the Nonconformists; otherwise his own Loyalty would have hindred him from daring to use that expression.

And now I should continue my History to his third Book in hand, the Preface to *Bishop Bramhal*. But having his second Book stil before me, I could not but look a little further into it, to see how he hath left matters standing betwixt himself and his Answerer. And first I lighted on that place where he

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strives to disintangle himself from what he had said about Trade in his former Book. Here therefore he defies the whole Fanatick world to discover one Syllable that tends to its discouragement. Let us put it upon that issue, and by this one example take the pattern of his ingenuity in all his other contests. *Whoop Mr. Bayes, pag 49. with what conscience does the Answerer tell the people that I have represented all Tradesmen as seditious, when 'tis so notorious I only suppose that some of them may be tainted with Seditious Principles? If I should affirm that when the Nobility or Clergy are possest with Principles that incline to Rebellion and disloyal practices, they are of all Rebels the most dangerous, should I be thought to impeach them of Treason and Rebellion? Holla Mr. Bayes! But in the 49th page of your first Book you say expressly, For 'tis notorious that there is not any sort of people so inclinable to Seditious Practices as the Trading part of a Nation. Is this the same thing now? and how does this Defence take off the Objection? And yet he tears and insults*
and

and declaims as if he had the Truth on his side. At last he strives to bring himself off and salve the matter in the same page 49. With, *In brief it is not the rich Citizen, but the wealthy Fanatick that I have branded for an ungovernable Beast, and that not as Wealthy but as Fanatick.* Subtle Distinguisher! I see if we give him but Rope enough what he will come to. Mr. Bayes, many as proper a man as your self hath march'd up Holborn for distinguishing betwixt the Wealth and the Fanatick: and moreover let me tell you, Fanatick Money hath no Ear-mark.

So concerning the Magistrates power in Religion, wherein his Answerer had remark'd some unsafe passages: *Whoop Mr. Bayes! P. 12. of his first Book before quoted: Unless Princes have power to bind their Subjects to what Religion they apprehend most advantagious, &c. they are no better than Statues of Authority. Holla Bayes. Pag. 467. of the second Book: This bold Calumny I have already I hope competently enough discovered & detested. Yet he repeats this*

Fundamental Forgery in all places, so that his whole Book is but one huge Lye 400 pages long. Judge now who is the Forger; And yet he roars too here as if he would mix Heaven and Earth together. But you may spare your raving, you will never claw it off as long as your name is Bayes.

So his Answerer it seemes having p. 85. said, that *Bayes* confines the whole Duty of Conscience to the inward thoughts and perswasions of the mind, over which the Magistrate hath no power at all: *Whoop Bayes* page 89. of his first Book, *Let all matters of mere Conscience, whether purely moral or religious, be subject to Conscience only, i.e. Let men think of things according to their own perswasions, and assert the Freedom of their Judgments against all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the mind of man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is intellectual, &c. P. 91. Liberty of Conscience is internal and invisible, and confined to the minds and judgments of men; and while Conscience acts within its proper sphere,*
the Civil

Civil power is so far from doing it Violence, that it never can. Holla Bayes. p. 229. of his Second Book, *This in down right English is a shameless Lye.* Sir, you must pardon my rudeness, for I will assure you, after long Meditation, I could not devise a more pertinent answer to so bold an one as this. I believe you Mr. Bayes: you meditated long, some twelve months at least; and you could not devise any other answer, and in good earnest he hath not attempted to give any other answer. *I confess 'tis no extraordinary Conceit, but 'tis the best Repartee my barren Fancy was able to suggest to me upon so rude an occasion.* Well Mr. Bayes! I see it must come to a quarrel; for thus the Hectors use to do, and to give the Lye at adventure, when they have a mind to try a mans Courage. But I have often known them dye on the spot.

So his Answerer p. 134. having taxed him for his speaking against an expression in the Act of Parliament of 5to Eliz. concerning the Wednesday Fast. *Whoop, Bayes, pag. 59. of his first*

first Book. *The Act for the Wednesday Fast the Jejunium Cecilianum* (our Ecclesiastical Politician is the better Statesman of the two by far, and may make sport with Cecil when he pleases) was *injoynd with this clause of Exception, That if any person should affirm it to be imposed with an intention to bind the Conscience, he should be punished as spreader of false News.* So careful was the supreme Magistrate in those dayes not to impose upon the Conscience; and the Wisdom of it is confirmed by the experience of our time: When so eminent a Divine, as I mentioned before, thought fit to write a whole Volume concerning the Holiness of LENT; though, if I be not deceived, this Doctrine too is prohibited by Act of Parliament, under the same Penalty. But, saith Bayes there, *The matter indeed of this Law was not of any great moment, but this Declaration annexed to it proved of a fatal and mischievous Consequence.* 'Tis very well worth reading at large: but in short the Consequence (or the occasion 'tis no

mat-

matter when I have to do with Bayes)
 was, that "Princes how peremptory
 "soever they have been in asserting
 "the Rights of their Supreme Pow-
 "rer, in Civil Affairs, they have
 "been forced to seem modest and dis-
 "fident in the exercise of their Ex-
 "clesiastical Supremacy. Now, Hol-
 la, Bayes. p. 298. of his Second Book.
 "To what purpose does he so briskly
 "taunt me for thwarting mine own
 "principles, because I have censu-
 "red the impertinency of a needless
 "Provision in an Act of Parliament?
 Observe, these are not the Answerers
 but Bayes his own Words; whereby
 you may see with what Reverence and
 Duty he uses to speak of his Superiours
 and their Actions, when they are not
 so happy as to please him. "I may
 "obey the Law, though I may be of a
 "different Perswasion from the Law-
 "givers in an Opinion remote and
 "impertinent to the matter of the Law
 "it self: nay, I may condemne the
 "wisdom of enacting it, and yet at the
 "same time think my self to lie under
 "an

“ *an indispensable Obligation to obey*
 “ *it : for the formal reason of its ob-*
 “ *ligatory power (as any Casuist will*
 “ *inform him) is not the Judgment and*
 “ *Opinion of the Law-giver, but the*
 “ *Declaration of his Will and Pleasure.*
 Very good and sound Mr. Bayes : but
 here you have opened a passage;
 and this is as impertinent in you
 and more dangerous than what you
 blamed in that Act, that the Noncon-
 formists may speak against your Ec-
 clesiastical Laws; for their Casuists
 then tell them that, they lying under
 an indispensable obligation not to con-
 form to some of them, do fulfil and
 satisfy their Obedience in submitting
 to the penalty.

I looked further into what he saith
 in defence of the Magistrates assuming
 the Priesthood ; what for his Scheme of
 moral Grace ; what to palliate his ir-
 reverent expressions concerning our
 Blessed Saviour and the Holy Spirit;
 what of all other matters objected by
 his Answerer : and if you will believe
 me ; but I had much rather the Rea-
 der

der would take the pains to examine all himself, there is scarce any thing but slender trifling unworthy of a Logician, and beastly railing unbecoming any man, much more a Divine. At last, having read it all through with some attention, I resolved, having failed so of any thing material, to try my fortune whether it might be more lucky, and to open the Book in several places as it chanced. But, whereas they say that in the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, wheresoever you light you will find something that will hit and is proper to your intention; on the contrary here, there was not any leaf that I met with but had something impertinent, so that I resolved to give it over. This only I observed upon the whole, that he does treat his Answerer the most ingratefully that ever man did. For, whereas in his whole first Book there was not one sound Principle, and, scarce any thing in his second, but what the Answerer had given him occasion to amend and rectifie if he had understanding; after so great an obligation he handles him
with

with more rudeness than is imaginable. I know it may be said in Mr. *Bayes* his defence, that in this his second Book he hath made his matters in many places much worse then they were before. But I say that was *Bayes* his want of understanding, and that he knew not how to take hold of so charitable an opportunity as was offered him, and 'twas none of the Answerers fault. Ther are amongst men some that do not study alwayes the true Rules of Wisdom and Honesty, but delight in a perverse kind of Cunning, which sometimes may take for a while & attain their design, but most usually it fails in the end & hath a foul farewell. And such are all Mr. *Bayes* his Plots. In all his Writings he doth so confound terms, he leaps cross, he hath more doubles (nay triples and quadruples) than any Hare, so that he thinks himself secure of the Hunters. And in this second Book, even the length of it was some Policy. For you must know it is all but an Epistle to the Author of the *Friendly Debate*; and thought he with himself, who hath

hath so much leisure from his own affairs that he will read a Letter of another mans business of eight hundred pages? But yet, thought he again, (and I could be content they did read it) in all matters of Argument I will so muddle my self in Ink, that there shall be no catching no finding me; and besides I will speak alwayes with so Magisterial a Confidence, that no modest man (and most ingenious persons are so) shall so much as quetch at me, but be beat out of Countenance: and plain men shall think that I durst not talk at such a rate but that I have a Commission. I will first, said he in his heart, like a stout Vagrant, beg, and, if that will not do, I will command the Question; and as soon as I have got it I will so alter the property and put on a nother Periwieg, that I defie them all for discovering me or ever finding it again. This, beside all the lock and advantage that I have the Nonconformists upon since the late times; and though they were born since, and have taken more sober Principles, it shall be all one for
that

that matter. And then for Oratory and Railing, let *Bayes* alone. This confidence is indeed all the strength of Mr. *Bayes* his Argument, and, as he said, (how properly let the Reader judge) p. 69. before quoted, *that Moral Virtue is not onely the most material and useful part of all Religion, but the ultimate end of all its other Duties* : So, Railing is not onely the most material and useful part of his Religion, his Reason, his Oratory, and his Practise ; but the ultimate end of this and all his other Books. Otherwise he is neither so strongly fortified nor so well guarded, but that without any Ceremony of Trenches or Approaches, you may at the very first march up to his Counters-scrap without danger. He puts me in minde of the incorrigible Scold, that though she was duck'd over head and ears under water, yet stretched up her hands with her two Thumb-nails in the Nit-cracking posture, or with two fingers divaricated, to call the man still in that Language Lousy Rascal and Cuckold. But indeed

do, when I consider how miserable a Wretch his Answerer has rendred him, and yet how he persists still, and more to rail and revile him; I can liken it to nothing better betwixt them, than to what I have seen with some pleasure the Hawking at the Mag-py. The poor bird understands very well the terrible pounces of that Vulture: but therefore she chatters amain most rudely, and spreads and cocks her tail, so that one that first saw and heard the sporr would think that she insulted over the Hawk in that charter, and she huff'd her train in token of Courage and Victory: when, alas, 'tis her fear all, and another way of crying the Hawk mercy, and to the end that the Hawk finding nothing but tail and feather to strike at she may so perhaps shelter her body.

Therefore I think there is nothing in my way that hinders me, but that I may now go on to the History of this *Mr. Bayes* his Third Book, the Preface to *Bishop Brant hall*, and to what *Jun. dore of Affairs* it was reconciled. His

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Majesty (perhaps upon Mr. Bayes his
 frequent Admonitions both in his first
 and second Book, that Princes should
 be more attentive and confident in ex-
 ercising their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,
 though, I rather believe, he never
 deign'd to read a Line in him, but what
 he did herein, was onely the result of
 his own good understanding) resolved
 to make some clear tryal how the
 Nonconformists could bear themselves
 under some Liberty of Conscience.
 And accordingly he issued on March
 the 15th 1671. His Gracious *Decla-*
ration of Indulgence, of which I with
 His Majesty and the Kingdom much
 joy, and, as far as my slender judge-
 ment can divine, dare augurate and
 presage mutual Felicity, and that
 what ever humane Accident may hap-
 pen (I fear not what Bayes fore-sees)
 they will, they can never have cause
 to repent this Action or its Conse-
 quences. But hereupon Bayes find-
 ing that the King had so vigorously
 exerted his Ecclesiastical Power, but
 to a purpose quite contrary to what
 Mr

Mr. Bayes had always intended, he grew terribly angry at the King and his Privy Council: So that hereupon *he started*, as himself sayes, *into many warm and glowing Meditations: his heart burnt and the fire kindled, and that heated him into all this wild and rambling talk* (as some will be forward enough to call it) *though he hopes it is not altogether idle, and whether it be or be not, he hath now neither leisure nor patience to examine.*

This he confesses upon his best recollection, in the last page of this preface: whereupon I cannot but animadvert, as in my first page, that this too lies open to his *Dilemma* against the Nonconformists Prayers: For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modesty is all impudent and counterfeit: If he does acknowledge it, he is an hot-headed Incendiary; and a wild rambling talker, and in part, if not altogether, an idle Fellow. Really I cannot but pity him, and look upon him as under some great disturbance of mind: that this with other scattering passages

here and there, argues him to be in as ill a case as *Tiberius* was in his distracted Letter to the Senate: There wants nothing of it but the *Dii Deæque* *me perdant* wishing, Let the Gods and the Goddeses confound him worse than he finds himself to be every day confounded. But that I may not lose my thread. Upon occasion of this his Majesties Gracious Declaration, and against it, he writes this his third Book the *Preface to Bishop Bramhall*, and accordingly was unhappily delivered of it in *June* (I have forgot) or *July*, in 1672. For he did not goe his full time of it, but miscarried; partly by a new fright from *J. O.* and partly by a fall he had upon a *Closer Importance*. But of all his three Bolts this was the soonest shot, and therefore 'tis no wonder if he miss'd his mark, and took no care where his Arrow glanced. But what he saith of his Majesty and his Council, being toward the latter end of his Discourse, I am forced to defer that a little, because, there being no method at all in his wild rambling talk;

talk; I must either tread just on in his footsteps, or else I shall be in a perpetual maze, and never know when I am come to my journeys end.

And here I cannot altogether escape the mentioning of *J. O.* again, whom (though I have shown that he was not the main cause of publishing *Bayes* his Books) yet he singles out, and on his pretence runs down all the Nonconformists; this being, as he imagined, the safest way by which he might proceed first to undermine, and then blow up his Majesties gracious Declaration. And this indeed is the least immethodical part of the whole Discourse. For first he undertakes to defend, that Railing is not onely lawful, but expedient. Secondly, that though he had Railed, the person he spoke of ought not to have taken notice of it. And Thirdly, that he did not Rail. As to these things I do not much trouble myself, nor interest my self in the least in *J. O.*'s Quarrel: no otherwise than if he were *John a Nokes* and I heard him rail'd at by *John a Styles*: Nor yet

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would

would I concern my self unnecessarily in any mans behalf; knowing that 'tis better being at the beginning of a Feast, than to come in at the latter end of a Fray. For if so I should, as often it happens in such Rencounters, not onely draw Mr. Bayes, but J. O. too upon my back, I should have made a sweet business on't for my self.

Now as to the Lawfulness and Expedience of Railing; were it not that I do really make Conscience of using Scripture with such a drolling Companion as Mr. Bayes, I could overload him thence both with Authority and Example. Nor is it worth ones while to teach him out of other Authors, and the best precedents of the kind, how he, being a Christian and a Divine, ought to have carried himself. But I cannot but remark his Insolence and how bold he makes upon this Argument, p. 88. of his Second Book, with the Memories of those great Persons there enumerated, several of whom, and particularly my Lord *Verulam*, I could quote to his confusion, upon a con-

trary

contrary and much better Account. So far
 am I from repenting my severity towards
 them, that I am tempted rather to applaud
 it by the glorious Examples of the greatest
 Wits of our Nation, King James, Arch-
 Bishop Whitgift, Arch-Bishop Bancroft,
 Bishop Andrews, Bishop Bilson, Bishop
 Mountague, Bishop Bramhall, Sir Walter
 Rawleigh, Lord Bacon, &c. and he might
 have added Mr. Tarlton with as good
 pretence to his Honour as himself.
 The Niches are yet empty in the Old
 Exchange; pray let us speak to the
 Statuary that next to King James's
 we may have Bayes his Effigies. For
 such great Wits are Princes Fellows,
 at least when dead. At this rate there
 is not a Scold at Billings-gate but may
 defend her self by the patern of King
 James and Arch-Bishop Whitgift, &c.
 Yet this is passable, if you consider
 our man. But that is most intolerable
 p. 17. of the preface to his first Book,
 where he justifies his debauched way of
 writing by parabol to our Blessed Savi-
 our. And I cannot but with some aw
 reflect how near the punishment was to

the offence; when having undertaken so profane an Argument, he was in the very instant so infatuated as to say that Christ was not onely *in an hot fit of Zeal, but in a seeming Fury too, and transport of Passion.* But however, seeing he hath brought us so good Vouchers, let us suppose what is not to be suppos'd, that Railing is lawful. Whether it be expedient or no, will yet be a new question. And I think Mr. Bayes, when he hath had time *to cool his thoughts*, may be trusted yet with that consideration and to compute whether the good that he hath done by Railing do counter-vail the damage which both he in particular and the Cause he labours, have suffered by it. For in my observation, if we meet with an Argument in the Streets, both Men, Women and Boys, that are the Auditory, do usually give it on the modester side, and conclude, that she that rails most has the least reason.

For the second, Where he would prove that though he had railed, yet his Answerer J. O. ought not to have
taken

taken notice of it, nor those of the Party who are under the same condemnation, but that he should have abstracted and kept close to the Argument, I must confess it is a very secure and wholsom way of railing. And allowing this, he had good reason to find fault with his Answerer, as he does, for turning over his Book, though without turning it over, I know not how he could have answered him, but with his *Hat*, or with *Mum*. But for ought I can see in that onely answer which is to his first Book, he hath been obedient and abstracted the Argument sufficiently; and if he hath been any where severe upon him, he hath done it more cleanly and much more like a Gentleman, and it hath been onely in showing the necessary inferences that must follow upon the Authors Maximes, and unsound principles. But as to any answer to *Bayes* his second Book or this third, for ought I can see *J. O.* sleeps upon both ears.

To this third undertaking, to show that he hath not rail'd; I shall not
say

say anything more, but let it be judged by the Company, and to them let it be refer'd. But in my poor opinion I never saw a man thorow all his three Books in so high a Salivation.

And therefore, till I meet with something more serious, I will take a walk in the Garden and gather some of Mr. Bayes his Flowers. Or I might more properly have said I will go see *Bedlam*, and pick straws with our Mad-man. First he saith, that some that pretend a great interest in the holy Brother hood, upon every slight accident are beating up the Drums against the Pope and Popish Plots; they descry Popery in every common and usual Chance, and a Chimney cannot take fire in the City or Suburbs but they are immediately crying Jesuites and Firebals. I understand you, Sir. This, Mr. Bayes, is your Prologue, that is to be spoke by *Thunder* and *Lightning*. *I am loud Thunder, brisk Lightning I. I strike men down. I fire the Town—Look too't. Wee'l doo't.* Mr. Bayes, it is something dangerous meddling with those matters. As innocent

cent persons as your self, have felt the fury of the wild multitude, when such a Calamity hath disordered them. And after your late Severity against Tradesmen, it had been better you had not touched the fire. Take heed lest the Reasons which sparkle, forsooth, in your discourse hath not set their Chimneys on fire. None accuses you, what you make sport with, of burning the Ships at *Chatham*, much less of blowing up the *Thames*. But you ought to be careful, lest having so newly distinguished betwixt the Fanatick and his Wealth, they should say, That you are distinguishing now betwixt the Fanaticks and their Houses. These things are too edged to be jested with: if you did but consider that not onely the *Holy Brotherhood*, but the *Sober and intelligent Citizens* are equally involved in these sad Accidents. And in that lamentable Conflagration (which was so terrible that though so many years ago, it is yet fresh in mens memories, and besides, is yearly by Act of *Parliament*,

ment observed with due Humiliation and Solemnity.) It was not Trade onely and Merchandise suffered, which you call their *Diana*, and was not so much to be considered; but Saint *Paul* too was burnt, which the Historians tell us was *Diana's* Temple.

The next thing was more directly level'd at *J. O.* for having in some latter Book used those words, *We cannot conform to Arminianism or Socinianism on the one hand, or Popery on the other.* What the Answerer meant by those words, I concern not my self. Onely I cannot but say, That there is a very great neglect somewhere, wheresoever the Inspection of Books is lodged, that at least the *Socinian* Books are tolerated and sell as openly as the Bible. But *Bayes* turns all into Mirth; He might as well have added all the *-isms* in the Old Testament, *Perizzitism, Hivirism, Hittitism, Jebuzitism, &c.*

No, Mr. *Bayes*, that need not; and though this indeed is a very pretty Conceit, and 'twere pity it should have

have been lost; yet I can tell you a better way. For, if rhiming be the business, and you are also good at *tagging of points in a Garret*, there is another word that will do it better, and for which, I know not how truly, you tax your Answerer too here, as if he said, *The Church of England were desperately Schismatical, because the Independents are resolved one and all, to continue seperate from her Communion.* Therefore let *Schism*, if you please, rhyme to *ism*. And though no man is obliged to produce the Authority of the greatest Wits of the Nation to justify a Rhime, yet for your *dear sake*, Mr. Bayes, I will this once supererogate. The first shall be your good friend Bishop *Bramhall*, who among many other memorable Passages, which I believe were the reason that he never thought fit to print his own book; p. 101. teaches us, not absurdly, that *it was not the erroneous, Opinions of the Church of Rome, but the obtruding them by Laws upon other Churches, which warranted a Separation.* But if this will

will not doe, *Vous avez* Doctor *Thorn-*
dikes Deposition in print, for he, I
hear, is lately dead. *The Church of*
England in separating from the Church
of Rome, is guilty of Schism before God.
I have not the Book by me, but I am
sure 'tis candidly recited as I have
read it. Then (to shew too that there
is a King on this side) his present
Majesty's Father in his Declaration
4to *Caroli*, 1628. Affirms that a Book,
entituled, *Appello Cæsarem* or an Appeal
to *Cæsar*, and published in the year 1625.
by *Richard Mountague* then Batchelor of
Divinity, and now Bishop of *Chichester*,
had opened the way to those Schisms and
Divisions which have since ensued in the
Church, and that therefore for the Redress
and remedy thereof, and for the satisfacti-
on of the Consciences of his good People, he
had not onely by publick Proclamation cal-
led in that Book, which ministred matter of
Offence, but to prevent the like Danger
for the future, reprinted the Articles of
Religion, establishe d in the time of *Queen*
Elizabeth of Famous Memory: and by a
Declaration, before those Articles, did re-
strain

strain all Opinions to the sense of those Articles, that nothing might be left for private Fancies and Innovations, &c. And if this will not amount fully, I shall conclude with a Villanous Pamphlet that I met with t'other day; but of which a great Wit indeed was the Author. And whereas Mr. Bayes is always defying the Nonconformists with Mr. Hookers *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and the *Friendly Debate*; I am of the opinion, though I have a great Reverence for Mr. Hooker, who in some things did answer himself, That this little Book, of not full eight Leaves, hath shut that *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Mr. Bayes's too, out of doors: But for the *Friendly Debate*, I must confess that is unanswerable. 'Tis one Mr. Hales of Eaton; a most learned Divine, and one of the Church of England, and most remarkable for his Sufferings in the late times, and his Christian Patience under them. And I reckon it not one of the least Ignominies of that Age, that so eminent a Person should have been by the Iniquity

ty of the times reduced to those necessities under which he lived; as I account it no small honour to have grown up into some part of his Acquaintance, and convers'd a while with the living *remains* of one of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom. That which I speak of is his little *Treatise of Schism*, which though I had read many years ago, was quite out of my mind, till I occasionally light upon't at a Book-sellers stall. I hope it will not be tedious, though I write of some few (and yet whatsoever I omit I shall have left behind more) material Passages. *Schism* is one of those Theological Scare-crows with which they who use to uphold a party in Religion, use to fright away such, as making inquiry into it are ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious. *Schism* is, if we would define it an unnecessary separation of Christians from that part of the Visible Church of which they were once Members. Some reverencing Antiquity more than needs, have suffered

them

*themselves to be scared with imputation of Schism
more than needs.*

“Nothing absolves men from the
“guilt of Schism, but true and un-
“pretended Conscience. But the
“Judgements of the Ancients ma-
“ny times (to speak most gently)
“are justly to be suspected. Where
“the Cause of Schism is necessary,
“there not he that separates, but he
“that is the cause of Separation is the
“Schismatick.

“Where the occasion of Sepa-
“ration is unnecessary, neither
“side can be excused from guilt of
“Schism. But who shall be the Judg?
“That is a point of great difficulty,
“because it carries fire in the Tail of
“it: for it brings with it a piece of
“Doctrine which is seldom pleasing to
“Superiours. You shall find that all
“Schisms have crept into the Church
“by one of these three ways, either
“upon matter of Fact, or upon mat-
“ter of Opinion, or point of Ambi-
“tion. For the first, I call that mat-
“ter of Fact, when something is re-
N quired

“quired to be done by us, which either
 “we know or strongly suspect to be
 “unlawful. Where he instances in
 the old great Controversie about E.A.
 S T E R, “For it being upon error ta-
 “ken for necessary that an Easter
 “must be kept, and upon worse than
 “error (for it was no less than a
 “point of Judaism forc’d upon the
 “Church) thought further necessary
 “that the ground of the time for the
 “Feast, must be the Rule left by *Moses*
 “to the Jews: there arose a stout Que-
 “stion, Whether ’twas to be celebra-
 “ted with the Jews on the fourteenth
 “Moon, or on the Sunday following.
 “This caused as great a Combustion
 “as ever was; the West separating
 “and refusing Communion with the
 “East for many years together. Here
 “I cannot see but all the World were
 “Schismaticks, excepting onely that
 “we charitably suppose to excuse
 “them from it, that all parties did
 “what they did out of Conscience.
 “A thing which befell them by the
 “ignorance, for I will not say the
 malice,

"malice, of their guides; and that
 "through the just judgment of God,
 "because, through sloth and blind obe-
 "dience, men examined not the things
 "they were taught, but like beasts of
 "burthen patiently couched down, and
 "indifferently under-went all what-
 "soever their Superiours laid upon
 "them. If the discretion of the chief-
 "est guides of the Church did, in a
 "point so trivial, so inconsiderable, so
 "mainly fail them: Can we without
 "the imputation of great grossness
 "and folly, think so poor-spirited per-
 "sons competent Judges of the Que-
 "stions now on foot betwixt the
 "Churches? Where, or among
 "whom, or how many the Church
 "shall be, it is a thing indifferent:
 "What if those to whom the Execu-
 "tion of the publick Service is com-
 "mitted, do something, either un-
 "seemly or suspicious, or peradven-
 "ture unlawful; what if the Garments
 "they wear be censured, nay, indeed
 "be suspicious; What if the gesture
 "or adoration to be used to the Al-

"tars, as now we have learned to
 "speak? What if the Homilist have
 "preached or delivered any Doctrine,
 "of the truth of which we are not well
 "perswaded, (a thing which very
 "often falls out) yet, for all this, we
 "may not separate, except we be con-
 "strained personally to bear a part in
 "it our selves. Nothing can be a just
 "cause of refusing Communion in
 "Schism, that concerns Fact, but one-
 "ly to require the execution of some
 "unlawful or suspected Act. For, not
 "only in Reason, but in Religion too,
 "that Maxim admits of no release;
 "*Cautissimi cujusque præceptum, quod*
 "*dubitas ne feceris:* That whatsoever
 "you doubt of, that you in no case do.
 He instances then in the Second Coun-
 cil of Nice, where, saith he, the "Sy-
 "nod it self was the Schismatical par-
 "ty in the point of using the Images,
 "which, saith he, all acknowledge
 "unnecessary, most do suspect, and
 "many hold utterly unlawful: Can
 "then the enjoining of such a thing be
 "ought else but an abuse? Can the

refusal of Communion here be
 thought any other thing than Duty?
 Here, or upon the like occasion to se-
 parate, may peradventure bring per-
 sonal trouble or danger, against
 which it concerns any honest man
 to have *Pectus præparatum*. Then of
 Schism from Opinion. "Prayer, Con-
 fession, Thanksgiving, Reading of
 Scripture, Administration of Sacra-
 ments in the plainest and the simplest
 manner, were matter enough to fur-
 nish out a sufficient Liturgy, though
 nothing either of private Opinion
 or of Church Pomp, of Garments,
 of prescribed Gestures, of Imagery,
 of Musick, of matter concerning
 the Dead, of many Superfluities
 which creep into the Church, under
 the name of Order and Decency,
 did interpose it self. To charge
 Churches and Liturgies with things
 unnecessary, was the first beginning of
 Superstition. If the Fathers and spe-
 cial Guides of the Church would be
 a little sparing in incumbring Churches
 with Superfluities, or not over-

"rigid either in reviving obsolete cu-
 "stoms, or imposing new: there would
 "be far less cause of Schism or Su-
 "perstition; and all the inconvenience
 "likely to ensue, would be but this,
 "They should in so doing yield a little
 "to the imbecility of their inferiours,
 "a thing which Saint *Paul* would ne-
 "ver have refused to do. It is alike
 "unlawful to make profession of
 "known or suspected falshood, as to
 "put in practice unlawful or suspect-
 "ed Actions. The third thing I na-
 "med for matter of Schism was Am-
 "bition, I mean, Episcopal Ambi-
 "tion; One head of which, is one
 "Bishops claiming Supremacy over
 "another, which, as it hath been from
 "time to time a great Trespasse a-
 "gainst the Churches Peace, so it is
 "now the final ruine of it. For they
 "do but abuse themselves and others,
 "who would perswade us that Bishops
 "by Christs institution have any Su-
 "periority over other men further than
 "that of Reverence, or that any Bishop
 "is Superiour to another further than
 "positive Order agreed upon among
 Christians

"Christians had prescribed: Time
 "hath taken leave, sometimes, to fix
 "this name of **CONVENTICLES**
 "upon good and honest Meetings.
 "Though open Assemblies are requi-
 "red yet, at all times while men are
 "really pious, all Meetings of men for
 "mutual help of Piety and Devotion,
 "wheresoever, and by whomsoever ce-
 "lebrated, were permitted without ex-
 "ception. In times of manifest Cor-
 "ruption and Persecution, wherein
 "Religious Assembling is dangerous,
 "Private Meetings, howsoever besides
 "Publick Order, are not onely lawful,
 "but they are of Necessity and Duty.
 "All pious Assemblies, in times of
 "Persecution and Corruption howso-
 "ever practised, are indeed, or rather
 "alone, the Lawful Congregations:
 "and Publick Assemblies, though ac-
 "cording to form of Law, are indeed,
 "nothing else but **RIOTS** and **CON-**
 "**VENTICLES**, if they be stained
 "with Corruption and Superstition. Do
 "you not see now, Mr. Bayes, that you
 "needed not to have gone so far for a

word, when you might have had it in the Neighbourhood? If there be any Coherence left in your Scull, you cannot but perceive that I have brought you Authority enough to prove that *Schism* (for the reason we may discourse another time) do's at least rhyme to *Is'm*. But you have a peculiar delight and felicity, (which no man envies you) in Scripture-Drollery, nothing less will taste to your Palate: whereas otherwise you have travelled so far in *Italy*, that you could not escape the Titles of some Books which would have served your turn as well, *Cardinalism*, *Nepotism*, *Putanism*, if you were in a *Paroxysm* of the *Is'm's*.

When I had writ this, and undergone so grateful a Penance for no less than that I had transcribed before out of our Author; I could not upon comparing them both together but reflect most seriously upon the difference of their two ways of Discourfing. I could not but admire that Majesty and Beauty which sits upon the Forehead of masculine Truth and generous Honesty: but no

less

less detest the Deformity of Falshood
 disguised in all its Ornaments. How
 much another thing it is to hear him
 speak, that hath cleared himself from
 froth and growns, and who suffers nei-
 ther Sloth nor Fear, nor Ambition, nor
 any other tempting Spirit of that na-
 ture to abuse him, from one, who as
 Mr. *Hales* expresseth it, makes Christia-
 nity Lacquey to Ambition; how wretch-
 edly, the one to uphold his *Fistion*,
 must incite Princes to Persecution and
 Tyranny, degrade Grace to Morality,
 debauch Conscience against its own
 Principles, distort and mis-interpret the
 Scripture, fill the World with Blood,
 Execution, and Massacre; while the
 other needs and requires no more but
 a peaceable and unprejudicat Soul and
 the native Simplicity of a Christian-spi-
 rit! And me-thinks, if our Author
 had any spark of Vertue unextinguish-
 ed, he should, upon considering these
 together, retire into his Closet, and
 there lament and pine away for his de-
 sperate folly; for the disgrace he hath,
 as far as in him is, brought upon the
 Church

Church of England by such an undertaking, and for the eternal shame to which he has hereby condemned his own Memory.

I ask you heartily pardon, Mr. Bayes, for treating you against *Decorum* here, with so much gravity. 'Tis possible I may not trouble you above once or twice more in the like nature; but so often at least, I hope one may in the writing of a whole Book, have leave to be serious. Your next Flower, and that indeed is a sweet one, *Dear Heart, how could I hug and kiss thee for all this Love and Sweetness?* Fy, fy, Mr. Bayes, Is this the Language of a Divine, and to be used, as you sometimes express it, in the face of the Sun? Who can escape from thinking that you are adream'd of your *Comfortable Importance*? These are (as the *Moral Satyr*ist calls them in the cleanliest manner the thing would bear) *Words left betwixt the Sheets*: Some body might take it ill that you should misapply your Courtship to an Enemy. But in the *Roman Empire* it was the

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Priviledge of the Hangman to deflour a Virgin before Execution. But, sweet Mr. Bayes, (for I know you do nothing without a precedent of some of the greatest Wits of the Nation) Whose Example had you for this *seeming Transport* of a gentler *Passion*?

Then comes, *Welfare poor Macedo for a modest Fool*. This I know is matter of *Gazette*; which is as Canonical as *Ecclesiastical Policy*. Therefore I have the less to say to't. Only, I could wish that there were some severer Laws against such Villains who raise so false and scandalous reports of worthy Gentlemen; and that those Laws were put in execution: And that men might not be suffered to walk the streets in so confident a garb, who commit those Assassins upon the reputation of deserving persons.

Here follows a fore Charge: that the Answerer had *without any provocation, in a publick and solemn way, undertaken the defence of the Fanatick Cause*. Here, indeed, Mr. Bayes, you have Reason. And you might have had as just a quarrel

rel against whosoever had undertaken it. For, your design and hope was from the beginning, that no man would have answered you in a publick and solemn way; and, nothing would vex a wise man, as you are, more than to have his intention and Counsel frustrated. When you have rang'd all your forces in Battel, when you have plac'd your Canon, when you have sounded a charge, and given the Word to fall on upon the whole Party; if you could then perswade every particular person of 'm, that you gave him no Provocation, I confess, Mr. Bayes, this were an excellent and a new way of your inventing, to conquer single, ('tis your Moral Vertue) whole Armies. And so the *admiring Drove* might stand gaping, till one by one, you had cut all their throats. But, Mr Bayes, I cannot discern but that you gave him as much Provocation in your first Book as he has you in his *Evangelical Love, Church Peace and Unity*, which is the pretence of your issuing this Preface. For, having for your *Dear sake* (be-

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side many other troubles that I have undertaken, without your giving me any Provocation) fought out and perused that Book too, I do not find you any where personally concern'd, but as you have, it seems upon some conviction, assumed to your self some vices or errours against which he speaks only in general, and with some modesty. But for the rest, you say upon full perusal, *you find not one Syllable to the purpose, beside a perpetual Repetition of the old out-worn Story of Unscriptural Ceremonies, and some frequent whinings, and sometimes ravings, &c.* Now to see the Dulness of some mens Capacities above others. I upon this occasion, begun, I know not how it came, at p. 127. And thence read on to the end of his Book. And from thence I turn'd to the beginning and continued to p. 127. and could not all along, observe any thing but what was very pertinent to the matter in hand. But this is your way of excusing your self from replying to things that yet you will be meddling with, and nibbling at: and 'tis besides a pretty knack (the Nonconformists

formists have it not alone) of frightening or discouraging sober people from reading those dangerous Treatises which might contribute to their better information. I cannot but observe, Mr. Bayes, this a dmirable way (like fat Sir John Falstaffe's singular dexterity in sinking) that you have of answering whole Books and Discourses, how pithy and knotty soever, in a line or two, nay sometimes with a word. So it fares with this Book of the Answerers. So with a Book or Discourse of his, I know not, of the *Morality of the Lords Day*, which is answered by a *Septenary Portion* in the *Hebdomadal Revolution*. So, whether Book or Discourse I also know not of the *Self-evidencing light of the Scripture*, where Bayes offers (and it seems strange) to produce as good proofs for it out of the *Alcoran*. So I show'd you where he answers demonstration with the Lye. And one thing more comes into my mind; where after he has blunder'd a great while to bring himself off the Magistrates exercising the Priesthood in his own person, he concludes

cludes with an irresistible defence against his Answerer, *This is suitable to the Genius of his ingenuity, and betrays him as much as the word INTANGLEMENT, which is the Shiboleth of all his Writings.* So he defeats all the gross bodies of Orthodoxy with calling them *Systemes and Syntagmes.* So you know he answers all the Controversial Books of the Calvinists that ever have been written, with the Tale of *Robin Hood*, and the mighty *Bramble on the South side of the Lake Lemman.* Mr. Bayes, you cannot enough esteem and cherrish this Faculty. For, next to your single beating whole Armies, I do not know any Virtue that you have need of so often, or that will upon tryal be found more useful.

And to this succeeds another Flower, I am sure, though I can scarce smell out the sence of it. But it is printed in a distinct Character, & that is always a certain sign of a flower. For our Booksellers have many Arts to make us *yield to their importunity:* and among the rest, they promise us, that it shall be printed in fine Paper, and in a very large and fair letter;

letter; that it shall be very well examined that there be no Errata; that wheresoever there is a pretty Conceit, it shall be marked out in another Character; that the Sentences shall be boxed up in several paragraphs, and more Drawers than in any Cabinet; that the Books shall all be bound up in Calves Leather. But my greatest care was, that when I quoted any sentence or word of our Author's, it might be so discernable, lest I should go for a Plagiary. And I am much offended to see that in several places he hath not kept touch with me. The Word of Mr. Bayes's that he has here made more notorious, is *Categoricalness*: and I observe that wheresoever there comes a word of that termination, he shows it the same honour; as if he had a mind to make Bayes a Collar of *Nesses*. What the mystery is, I cannot so easily imagine; no more than of *Shibboleth* and *Intanglement*. But I doubt Mr. Bayes is sick of many complicated Diseases; or to keep to our rhyme, *Sicknesses*. He is troubled not onely with the *Isms* but the *Nesses*. He might, if he

he had pleased, here too to have shown his wit, as he did in the others, and have told us of *Sheerness*, *Dongioness*, *Innerness* and *Cathness*. But he omitted it perhaps in this place, knowing how well he had acquitted himself in another, and out of the Scripture too, which gives his Wit the highest relish. 'Tis p. 72. of his first Book, where, to prove that the fruits of the Spirit are no more than Morality, he quotes Saint Paul, Gal. 5. 22. Where the Apostle enumerates them; *Love, Joy, Peace, Patience, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness* and *Temperance*: but our Author translates Joy to *Chearfulness*, Peace to *Peaceableness*, and Faith to *Faithfulness*: What Ignorance, or rather, what Forgery is this of Scripture and Religion? Who is there of the *Systematical, German, Geneva, Orthodox Divines*, but could have taught him better? Who is there of the *Sober, Intelligent, Episcopal Divines* of the Church of *England* but would abhor this Interpretation? Yet, when his Answerer, I see, objects this to him,

p. 220. Bayes, like a dexterous Scholastical Disputant, it being told him, That Joy is not Chearfulness, but that *Spiritual Joy which is unspeakable*; that Peace is not peaceableness in his Sense, but that *Peace of God which through Jesus Christ is wrought in the hearts of Believers by the Holy Ghost*; and that Faith in God is there intended, not faithfulness in our Duties, Trusts or Offices: What does he do? p. 337. He very ingenuously and wisely, when he is to answer, quite forgets that Faith was once named: and having suppress'd that, as to the rest he wipes his Mouth, and rubs his Forehead, and saith, the *Cavil is but a little one, and the Fortune of Cæsar and the Roman Empire depends not upon it, and therefore he will not trouble the Reader with a Critical Account of the reason of his Translation.* No, don't Mr. Bayes, 'Tis very well; let it alone. But, though not the Fortunes of Cæsar and the Roman Empire, I doubt there is something more depends upon it, if it be matter of Salvation. And I am afraid besides, that there may a Curse

too belong to him who shall knowingly add or diminish in the Scripture. Do you think Bishop Bramhal himself, if he had seen this, could have abtained (p. 117. before quoted,) from telling our Author, *That the promiscuous Licence given to people qualified or unqualified, not onely to read but to interpret the Scriptures according to their private Spirits or particular Fancies, without regard either to the Analogy of Faith, which they understand not; or to the Interpretation of the Doctors of former Ages, is more prejudicial (I might better say) pernicious both to particular Christians, and to whole Societies, than the over-rigorous restraint of the Romanists.*

The next is a piece of Mirth, on occasion of some discourse of the Answerers, about the Morality of the Lords-day: Where it seems, he useth some hard words, which I am naturally an Enemy to; but might be done of purpose to keep the Controversie from the White-aprons, within the white Surplices, to be more learnedly debated. But this fares no better

than all the rest. There is no kind of *Morality*, I see, but *Bayes* will try to debauch it: *Oh, what edifying Doctrine, saith he, is this to the White-Aprons! and doubtless they would with the Jews, sooner roast themselves, than a small joynr of Mutton upon the Sacred day of Rest.* Now, I do not, neither, I believe, does *Bayes* himself know any of them that are thus superstitious. So that *Mr. Bayes* might, if he had pleased, have spared his jibing at that day, which hath more sacredness in it by far than many, nay than any of those things he pleaded for. But when men are once *Adepti* and have attain'd *Bayes* his height, and *Divinity* at least is rightly understood, they have a Priviledge, it seems, not onely to play and make merry on the Sabbath day, but with it.

— After this I walked a great way through bushes and brambles before I could find another Flower: but then I met with two upon one stalk; on occasion of his Answerers having said something of the day of Judgment when men should be accountable. *Oh, saith he, We shall*

shall be sure to be accounted with at that day of Judgment; and again, *Ab sweet day, when these people of God shall once for all, to their unspeakable Comfort and Support, wreak their eternal Revenge upon their reprobate Enemies.* This puts me in mind of another expression of our Authors alluding too this way. *'Tis an easie matter by this dancing and capering humour to perpetuate all the Controversies in the world, how plainly soever determinable, to the coming of Elias: and after this rate shall the Barbers bason remain Mambri-no's helmet; and the Asses Pannel a Furniture for the Great Horse till the day of Judgment.* Now, good Mr. Bayes, I am one that desire to be very well resolved in these things; and though not much indeed, yet I attribute something to your judgment. Pray tell us in good earnest, what you think of these things, that we may know how to take our measures of living accordingly. For, if indeed there be no Judgment, no account for what is done here below, I have lost a great deal of precious time, that I might have enjoyed

in one of the fruits of your Spirit, that is *Chearfulness*. How many good jests have I balk'd, even in writing this Book, lest I should be brought to answer for every profane and idle word! How frequent opportunities have I mist in my life of geniality and pleasure, and fulfilling Nature in all it's ends! How have you frighted the Magistrate in vain, from exercising his uncontrollable Ecclesiastical Power, with the fear of an after-reckoning to God Almighty? And how have you, p. 238. defeated the obligatory force of all his Laws, and set his Subjects at liberty from all obligations to the duty of Obedience? for they lie under no Obligation, you say then, but of prudence and Self-interest. But unless there hath been some error in our education, and we have been seasoned with ill Books at first, so that we can never lose the Impression, there is some such matter, and the Governor had reason, when he trembled to hear Saint *Paul* discoursing of that Subject. The Fanatical *Book of Martyrs* (for we will not with some call the Bible.

so) tells us some old stories of persons that have been cited by some of them to appear at such a day, and that by dying at the time prefixed, they have saved their Reconnoissances. And in the *Scotch History* we read of a great Cardinal that was so summoned by poor Mr. *Guichard*, and yet could not help it, but he must take that long and sad journey of Death to answer at the Grand Assizes. If therefore there be such a thing, I would not for fear; and if there be not, yet I would not for good luck sake, set that terrible day at defiance, or make too merry with it. 'Tis possible that the Nonconformists many of them may be too censorious of others, and too confident of their own Integrity. Others of them are more temperate, and perhaps destitute of all humane redress against their sufferings: Some of those make rash Challenges, and the other just appeals to appear at that dreadful Tribunal. In the mean time, 'tis not for you to be both the Enemy and their Judge. Much less do's it besit you, because perhaps they speak

too sillily or demurely of it, or too braving and confidently, therefore to make a meer mockery of the whole business of that Supreme Judge and Judicature. And one thing I will say more, though slighter; that though I am not so far gone as *Campanella* was in the efficacy of words, and the Magick of the face, and pronounciation, yet I marked how your Answerer look'd when he spoke of the day of Judgment. Very gravely, I assure you, and yet without any dressing or adorning his *Superciliums*: And I have most often observed that serious words have produced serious Effects. I have by this time methinks, gather'd enow: nor are there many more left, unless I should go for a Flower to the *Dunghil*, which, he saith, is his only *Magazin*. And this being an expression which he has several times used (for no Nonconformist repeats so often) I cannot but remark, that besides his natural Talent, Mr. *Bayes* hath been very industrious, and neglected no opportunity of acquiring a perfection of railing. For this is a phrase borrow-

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ed from a modern Author lately dead, and I suppose Mr. Bayes had given him a Bond for repayment at the day that he spoke of so lately. There are indeed several others at which I am forc'd to stop my nose. For by the smell, any man may discern they grew upon a ranker soil, than that on the South side of the Lake *Lemane*, even upon the bank of the *Thames* in the Meadow of *Billinf-gate*: as that of the Lye, which, he saith, no Gentleman, much less a Divine, ought to put up. Now if this were to be tryed by a Court Martial of the Brothers of the Blade, 'tisto be considered whether it were the downright Lye, or whether it were the Lye by Interpretation. For in the disputes of the Schools there is nothing more usual, than *Hoc est Verum, Hoc est falsum*. But this passes without any blemish of Honour on either side, and so far it is from any obligation to a Challenge or a Duel, that it never comes to be decided, so much as by the Study-door key. But *quod restat probandum* do's the business without demanding other satisfaction.

Then,

Then if it were the down-right Lye; it is to be examined who gave the Lye first: for that alters the case. And last of all (but which is indeed upon a quarrel the least material point, yet, it too comes under some consideration) which of the two was in the right, and which of them spoke truth, and which lyed. These are all things to be discussed in their proper places. For I do not observe that the Answerer gave *Bayes* the down-right Lye. But I find that *Bayes* gave him the Lye first in terms. And as to the Truth of the things controverted and alledg'd, there needs no more than the depositions that I formerly transcribed concerning *Bayes* his words. But all this is only a Scene out of *Bayes* his *Rehearsal*.

Villain, thou liest, —

— Arm, arm, Valerio arm,

The Lie, no flesh can bear I trow,

And then as to the success of the Combate, — *They fly, they fly*

Who first did give the Lye.

For that of *Cairife*, and other Provocations that are proper for the same Court, I will not meddle further. And

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for the being *past Grace and so past Mer-*
cy; I shall only observe that the Church
 of *England* is much obliged to Mr.
Bayes for having proved that Noncon-
 formity is the Sin against the Holy
 Ghost.

There remains but one Flower
 more that I have a mind to; but
 that indeed is a Rapper. 'Tis a *Flower*
of the Sun, and might alone serve both
 for a Staff and a Nose-gay for any No-
 ble mans Porter, Symbolicalness is the
 very Essence of Paganism, Superstition and
 Idolatry. They will and ought sooner to
 broyl in Smithfield than to submit to such
 Abomination of the Strumpet and the Beast.
 'Tis the very Potion wherewith the Scarlet-
 Whore made drunk the Kings of the Earth.
Heliogabalus and Bishop Bonner lov'd it
 like Clary and Eggs, and always made it
 their Mornings draught upon burning days;
 and it is not to be doubted but the seven Vi-
 als of Wrath that were to be poured out upon
 the Nations of the Earth under the Reign
 of Antichrist were filled with Symbolical
 Extracts and Spirits: This I confess a
 pretty Posie for the Nose of such a Di-
 vine,

vine. Doctor *Baily's* Romance of the *Wall-Flower* had nothing comparable to't. And I question, whether, as well as Mr. *Bayes* loves preferment, yet though he had lived in the Primitive Church, he would not as *Heliodorus* Bishop of *Triffa*, I take it, that renounced his Bishoprick rather than his Title to the History of *Theagenes* and *Charidia*, have done in like manner: nay, and have delivered up his Bible too into the bargain, before he would quit the Honour of so excellent a piece of Drolery. This is surely the Bill of Fare, not at the *Nags-head* but at the *Cock*, and never did Divine make so good Chear of *Owen's* Pease-porridge and Scripture. I know no Dainty wanting, or that could have pleased his Tooth so well, except the Leg of a Pheasant at the *Dog* and *Partridge*; for he is of *Thomas a Becker's* Dyet; who eat, he said, *Phæsanum sicut alij Muluellum*, and can mortifie himself upon Pheasant, as well as others with Salt-fish.

Good Mr. *Bayes*, or Mr. *Thunder*, or Mr. *Cartwright* (not the Nonconformist

formist *Cartwright*, that was you say (as some others too of your acquaintance) converted: but the Player in the Rehearsal) this *Divinity* I doubt was the *Bacchus* of your Thigh, and not the *Pallas* of your Brain.

Here it is that after so great an excess of Wit, he thinks fit to take a Julep and re settle his Brain, and the Government. He grows as serious as 'tis possible for a Madman, and pretends to sum up the whole state of the Controversie with the Nonconformists. And to be sure he will make the story as plausible for himself as he may: but therefore it was that I have before so particularly quoted and bound him up with his own Words as fast as such a *Proteus* could be pinion'd. For he is as waxen as the first matter, and no Form comes amiss to him. Every change of Posture does either alter his opinion or vary the expression by which we should judge of it: and sitting he is of one mind, and standing of another. Therefore I take my self the less concern'd, to fight with a Wind-mill like *Don Quixote*:

OF

or to whip a Gig as Boyes do, or with the Lacquies at *Charing-Cross* or *Lincolns-Inne* fields to play at the *Wheel of Fortune*, lest I should fall into the hands of my Lord Chief Justice, or Sir *Edmond Godfrey*. The truth is in short, and let *Boyes* make more or less of it if he can; *Boyes* had at first built up such a stupendious Magistrate, as never was of Gods making. He had put all Princes upon the Rack to stretch them to his dimension. And, as a streight line continued grows a Circle, he had given them so infinite a Power that it was extended unto Imporency. For though he found it not, till it was too late in the Cause; yet he felt it all along (which is the understanding of Brutes) in the Effect. For, hence it is that he so often complains, that Princes knew not aright that Supremacy over Conscience, to which they were so lately since their deserting the Church of *Rome*, restored. That in most Nations Government was not rightly understood, and many expressions of that Nature: Whereas indeed the matter

is that Princes have alwayes found that uncontrollable Government over CONSCIENCE to be both unsafe, and impracticable. He had run himself here to a stand, and perceiv'd that there was a God, there was Scripture; the Magistrate himself had a Conscience, and must *take care that he did not enjoin things apparently evil*. Being at a stop here, he would therefore try how he could play the Broker on the Subjects side: and no Pimp did ever enter into a more serious disputation to vitiate an innocent Virgin, than he to debauch their Consciences. And to harden their unpractis'd modesty, he imboldens them by his own Example, showing them the experiment upon his own Conscience first. But after all, he finds himself again at the same stand here, and is run up to the Wall by an Angel. God, and Scripture, and Conscience will not let him go further: but he owns, that if the Magistrate enjoyns things apparently evil, the Subject may have liberty to remonstrate. What shall he do then? For it is too glorious

ous an Enterprize to be abandoned at the first rebuffe. Why he gives us a new Translation of the Bible, and a new Commentary. He saith that Tender-ness of Conscience might be allowed in a Church to be constituted, not in a Church constituted already. That tenderness of Conscience and Scandal are Ignorance, Pride and Obstinacy. He saith, the Nonconformists should communicate with him till they have clear evidence that it is evil. This is a civil way indeed of gaining the question, to perswade men that are unsatisfied, to be satisfied till they be dissatisfied. He threatens, he rails, he jeers them, if it were possible, out of all their Consciences and Honesty; and finding that will not do, he calls out the Magistrate, tells him, these men are not fit to live, there can be no security of Government while they are in being: Bring out the Pillories, Whipping-posts, Gallies, Rods, and Axes, (which are *Ratio ultima Cleri*, a Clergy-mans last Argument, ay and his first too :) and pull in peices all the
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Trading Corporations those Nests of Faction and Sedition. This is a faithful account of the sum and intention of all his undertaking, for which I confess, he was as pick'd a man as could have been employ'd or found out in a whole Kingdome: but it is so much too hard a Task for any man to achieve, that no Goose but would grow giddy with it.

For whereas he reduces the whole Controversy to a matter of two or three Symbolical Ceremonies (and if there be nothing else, more the shame of those that keep such a pudder for them) it is very well worth observing how he hath behaved himself, and how come off in this Dispute. It seems that the Conformists define a Sacrament to be an Outward visible sign of an Inward Spiritual Grace. It seems that the Sacraments are usually called in the Greek *Symbola*. It seems further that some of the Nonconformists, under the name therefore of Symbolical Ceremonies, dispute the lawfulness of those that are by our Church enjoy-

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ned, whereby the Nonconformists can onely intend that these Ceremonies are so applyed, as if they were of a Sacramental nature and institution, and that therefore they are unlawful. Our Authors Answerer handling this Argument, does among other things make use of a pertinent Passage in St. Austin, *Signa quum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* What does Mr. Bayes in this Case? for it went hard with him. Why, as good luck would have it, not being willing that so great a Politician, to the irreparable Damage of the Church, should yet be destroyed, J. O. had forgot to quote the Book and the Page. Now though you send a man the length of your Weapon, and name your Second; Yet Mr. Bayes being, as you see often, admirably read in the Laws of Duelling, knew that unless the Time and Place be appointed, there is no danger. He saith therefore, p. 452. of his second Book, that he *should have advantage on his side, if he should lay odds with him, that there is no such passage in*

the Volumns of Saint Austin. — But however, that it is neither civil nor ingenuous to trouble him with such Objections, as he cannot answer without reading over eight or ten large Volumns in Folio. It was too much to expect from one of so much business, good Augustulus:

Quum tot sustineas & tanta negotia solus;

Res Sacras Armis tuteris, Moribus ornes,

Legibus emendes —

Which may be thus translated: When you alone have the Ceremonies to defend with Whipping-posts, Rods and Axes; when you have Grace to turn into Morality; when you have the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, and the Ecclesiastical Declaration of *March* to rear in pieces; it were unreasonable and too much to the damage of the publick to put you on such an employment. I ask your Pardon, Mr. Bayes, for this Paraphrase and Digression; for

I perceive I am even hardned in my Latine, and am prone to use it without fear or reverence. But Mr. Bayes, there might have been a remedy for this, had you pleased. Where then were all your *Leafturners*? a sort of poor Readers that you, as well as Bishop Bramhal, ought to have some Reverence for, having made so much use of them to gather materials for your Structures and Superstructures. I cannot be perswaded, for all this, but that he knows it well enough, the passage being so remarkable in it self, and so dirtyed with the Nonconformists thumbs, that he could not possibly miss it: and I doubt he does but laugh at me now, when, to save him a labour, I tell him in the simplicity of my heart, that even I my self met with it in *Ep. 5ta. ad Marcellinum*, and the words these, *Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de varietate signorum quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* But whether there be such a place or no, he hath no mind that his Answerer should make use of it: nor of the Schoolmen, whom

whom before he had owned for the Authors of the Church of *England's* Divinity; but would bind up the Answerer to the Law onely and the Gospel. And now Mr. Bayes saith he will be of the School-mens opinion *as long as they speak Sense* and no longer, (and so I believe of Saint *Austin's*) that is to say, so long as they will serve his turn: for all Politicians shake men off when they have no more use of 'm, or find them to thwart the design. But, Mr. Bayes, why may not your Answerer or any man else quote Saint *Austin*, as well as you may the Scripture? I am sure there is less danger of perverting the place, or of mis interpretation. And though perhaps a Nonconformist may value the Authority of the Bible above that of the Fathers, and yet the *Welch* have a Proverb; that the Bible and a Stone do well together: meaning perhaps, that if the one miss the other will hit. You, that are a Duellist, know how great a bravery 'tis to gain an enemies Sword, and that there is no more home-thrust in disputation, than the *Argu-*

mentum ad hominem. So that if your Adversary fell upon you with one of your own Fathers, it was gallantly done on his part; and no less wisely on yours, to fence in this manner, and use all your shifts to put it by. For you too, Mr. Bayes, do know, no man better, that it is not at all times safe nor honourable to be of a *Fathers* opinion.

Having escaped this danger, he grows, nor can I blame him, exceeding merry: and insults heavily over *Symbolical* wheresoever he meets with it, for in his Answerer I find it not. But wheresoever 'twas, it serves to good purpose. For no man would imagin that he could have received so universal a Defeat, and appear in so good humour. A terrible Disputant he is, when he has set up an hard word to be his Opponent; 'Tis a very wholesome thing he knows, and prolongs life: for all the while he can keep up this Ball, he may decline the Question. But the poor Word is sure to be mumbled and mowled to purpose, and to be made an Example. But let us, with Mr. Bayes his leave, examine

amine the thing for once a little closer. The Nonconformists, as I took notice before, do object to some of the Rites of the Church of *England*, under the name of Symbolical or significant Ceremonies. They observe the Church of *England* does in the discourse of Ceremonies printed before the Common Prayer Book, declare that the retaining of those Ceremonies, is not onely as *they serve for decent Order and godly Discipline; but as they are apt to stir up the dull mind of Man to the remembrance of his Duty to God, by some special and notable significancy whereby he may be edified.* They further observe the Church of *England's* definition of a Sacrament: That it is *an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual Grace.* They find these Ceremonies, so constituted, impos'd upon them by Authority; and moreover, according to our Authors principle, made a new part of the Divine Law. They therefore quarrel and except against these under the notion of Sacraments, and insist that the Church is not impowered to institute such Cere-

monies under such obligations and penalties as they are imposed. Or if you will, in stead of Church you may say rather the Magistrate: for as much as our Author hath *pro hac vice* delivered the Keyes and the whole power of the House into his hands.

Now the Author having got them at this lock cries Victory. Nothing less will serve him than a three dayes Triumph, as if he had conquered *Europe, Asia* and *Africa*, and let him have a fourth day added, if he please, over the *Terraincognita* of *Geneva*. There is no end of his Ostentation and Pageantry: and the dejected Nonconformists follow the wheels of his Chariot, to be led afterwards to the Prison and there executed. He had said p. 446. of his Second Book, *Here Cartwright begun his Objection, and here he was immediately check'd in his Carriere by Whitgift* (you might Mr. Author, for respect's sake have called him at least Mr. if not Arch-bishop *Whitgift*) *who told him plainly, he could not be ignorant that to the making of a Sacrament, besides the external*

ternal Element, there is required a Commandment of God in his Word that it should be done, and a promise annexed to it, whereof the Sacrament is a Seal. And in pursuance hereof, p. 447. our Author saith, *Here then I fix my foot, and dare him to his teeth, to prove that any thing can be capable of the nature or office of Sacraments that is not establisht by Divine Institution and upon Promise of Divine Acceptance.* Upon the confidence of this Argument 'tis that he *Hectors* and *Achillizes* all the Nonconformists out of the pit in this preface. This is the Sword that was consecrated first upon the Altar, and thence presented to the Champions of the Church in all Ages. This is that with which Arch-bishop *Whitgift* gave *Cartwright* his death's wound: and laid the *Puritan Reformation* a gasping. This is the weapon wherewith Master *Hooker* gained those lasting and eternal *Trophies* over that *bless'd Cause*. This is that with which Bishop *Tramhal* wrought those wonderful things that exceeded all belief. This hath been transmitted successively to the
 Writer

Writer of the *Friendly Debate*, and to this our Author. It is in conclusion the *Curtana* of our Church. 'Tis Sir *Salomon's* Sword, Cock of as many men as it hath been drawn against. Wo worth the man that comes in the way of so dead-doing a tool, and when wielded with the arm of such a *Scanderbag* as our Author. The Nonconformists had need desire a Truce to bury their dead. Nay there are none left alive to desire it: but they are slain every mothers Son of them. Yet perhaps they are but stounded and may revive again. For I do not see all this while, that any of them have written, as a great Prelate of ours, a Book of *Seven Sacraments*: or attempted to prove that these Symbolical Ceremonies are indeed Sacraments. Nothing less. 'Tis that which they most labour against, and they complain that these things should be imposed on them with so high Penalty, as want nothing of a Sacramental nature but Divine Institution. And because an Human Institution is herein made of equal force to a Divine Institution, therefore

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it is that they are agrieved. All that they mean, or could mean, as far as I or any man can perceive, is onely that these Ceremonies are a kind of *Anti-Sacraments*, and so obtruded upon the Church, that without condescending to these additional Inventions, no man is to be admitted to partake of the true Sacraments which were of Christ's appointing. For, without the Sign of the Cross, our Church will not receive any one to Baptism, also without kneeling no man is suffer'd to come to the Communion. So that methinks our Author and his Partners have wounded themselves onely with this Argument: and have had as little occasion here to sing their *Te Deums*, as the *Roman* Emperour had to triumph over the Ocean, because he had gathered Periwinkles and Scallop shells on the Beach. For the Author may transform their reasonings as oft as he pleases (even as oft as he doth his own; or the Scriptures:) but this is indeed their Fort out of which I do not see they are likely to be beat with all our Authors Cannon; that no
such

such new Conditions ought to be imposed upon Christians by a less than Divine Authority, and unto which if they do not submit, though against their Consciences, they shall therefore be depriv'd of Communion with the Church. And I wonder that our Author could *not observe any thing in the Discourse of Evangelical love, that was to the purpose, beside a perpetual repetition*, of the outworn story of unscriptural Ceremonies, and a peculiar uncouthness and obscurity of stile; when as this Plea is there for so many pages distinctly and vigorously insisted on. For it is a childish thing (how high soever our Author magnifies himself in this way of reasoning) either to demand from the Non-conformists a pattern of their Worship from the Scripture, who affect therein a simplicity free from all exterior circumstances, but such as are natural or customary: or else to require of them some particular command against the Cross, or kneeling, and such like Ceremonies, which in the time of the Apostles and many ages after were not thought of

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of. But therefore general and applicable Rules of Scripture they urge as directions to the Conscience; unto which our Author gives no satisfactory Solution, but by superseding and extinguishing the Conscience, or exposing it to the severest penalties. But here I say then is their main exception, that things indifferent, and that have no proper signature, or significance to that purpose, should by command be made necessary conditions of Church-Communion. I have many times wished for peaceableness sake, that they had a greater latitude; but if unless they should stretch their Consciences till they tear again, they cannot conform, what remedy? For I must confess that Christians have a better Right and Title to the Church, and to the Ordinances of God there, than the Author had to his Surplice. And that Right is so undoubted and ancient, that it is not to be innovated upon by humane restrictions and capitulations.

Bishop *Bramhall* p. 141. saith, *I do pro.*

profess to all the World, that the trans-
 forming of indifferent Opinions into ne-
 cessary Articles of Faith, hath been that
Infana Laurus, or cursed Bay-tree, the
 cause of all our brawling and contention.
 That which he saw in matter of Do-
 ctine he would not discern in Disci-
 pline, whereas this among us, the
 transforming of things, at best indif-
 ferent, into necessary points of practice,
 hath been of as ill consequence. And
 (to reform a little my seriousness) I
 shall not let this pass without taking
 notice that you Mr. Bayes, being the
 most extravagant person in this mat-
 ter that ever I heard of, as I have
 shown, you are mad, and so the *Infana*
Laurus; so I wish you may not
 prove that cursed Bay-tree too, as the Bi-
 shop translates it. If you had thought
 of this, perhaps we might have missed
 both the Bishops Book and your Pre-
 face; for you see that sometimes no
 man hath a worse friend than he brings
 from home.

It is true, and very piously done,
 that our Church does declare that the

kneel.

kneeling at the Lords Supper is not injoynd for adoration of those Elements, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before. But the *Romans* (from whom we have them, and who said of old, we would come to feed on their Meat, as well as eat of their Porridge) do offer us here many a fair declaration, and destinction in very weighty matters, to which nevertheless the Conscience of our Church hath not complied. But in this particular matter of kneeling, which came in first with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the *Romish Church* do reproach us with flat Idolatry, in that we not believing the real presence in the Bread and Wine, do yet pay to something or other the same adoration. Suppose the Antient *Pagans* had declared to the Primitive Christians, that the offering of some grains of Incense was only to perfume the room, or that the delivering up of their Bibles, was but for preserving the Book more carefully. Do you think the Christians would have palliated so far, and colluded

ded with their Conſciences? Men are too prone to erre on that hand. In the laſt King's time, ſome eminent Perſons of our Clergy made an open defection to the Church of Rome. One, and he yet certainly a Proteſtant, and that hath deſerved well of that cauſe, writ the Book of *Seven Sacraments*. One in the Church at preſent, though certainly no leſs a Proteſtant, could not abſtain from arguing the *Holineſs of Lent*: Doctor Thorndike lately dead, left for his Epitaph, *Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike Præbendarij hujus Eccleſiæ qui vivus veram Reformatæ Eccleſiæ rationem & modum precibus ſtudiſq; proſequibatur*, and nevertheleſs he adds, *Tu Lector requiem ei & beatam in Chriſto reſurrectionem precare*. Which things I do thus ſparingly ſet down, onely to ſhew the danger of inventive Piety; and if men once come to add new devices to the Scripture, how eaſily they ſlide on into Superſtition. Therefore, although the Church do conſider her ſelf ſo much as not to alter her Mode unto the fancy of others, yet I can-

not

are not see why sheought to exclude those
 the from Communion, whose weaker con-
 Tons sciencies cannot for fear of scandal
 tion step further. For the Non-conformists,
 d he as to those Declarations of our
 that Church against the Reverence to the
 writ Creatures of Bread and Wine, and
 One concerning the other Ceremonies as
 er. before, will be ready to think they
 not have as good a Plea as that so much
 of commended by our Author against the
 d, clause, *that whosoever should affirm the*
 bus *Wednesday Fast to be imposed with an*
 ius *intention to bind the Conscience, should be*
 Ec- *punished like the spreaders of false News;*
 ff; *which is, saith a Learned Prelate plainly to*
 ds, *them that understand it, to evacuate the*
 sto *whole Law. For all humane Power being de-*
 gs *rived from God, and bound upon our Con-*
 to *sciencies by his power, not by Man, he that*
 ; *saith it shall not bind the Conscience, saith*
 e- *it shall be no Law, it shall have no Au-*
 y *thority from God, and then it hath none*
 e, *at all; and if it be not tyed upon the Con-*
 r *science, then to break it is no sin, and then*
 c *to keep it is no Duty. So that a Law*
 r *without such an intention is a contradicti-*

on. It is a Law onely which binds if we please, and we may obey when we have a mind to it, and to so much we are tyed before the Constitution. But then if by such a Declaration it was meant, that to keep such Fasting-days was no part of a direct Commandment from God, that is, God hath not required them by himself immediately, & so it was abstracting from that Law no Duty Evangelical, it had been below the wisdom of the Contrivers of it, for no man pretends it, no man saith it, no man thinks it, and they might as well have declared that that Law was none of the ten Commandments, p. 59. of his first Book. So much pains does that learned Prelate of his take (whoever he was) to prove a whole Parliament of England Coxcombs. Now I say that those Ecclesiastical Laws, with such Declarations concerning the Ceremonies by them enjoyned, might *mutatis mutandis*, be taxed upon the same Topick. But I love not that task, and shall rather leave it to Mr. Bayes to paraphrase his learned Prelate. For he is very good at correcting the impertinence of Laws and Law.

Lawgivers : and though this work indeed be not for his turn at present, yet it may be for the future. And I have heard a good Engineer say, That he never fortified any place so, but that he reserv'd a feeble point, whereby he knew how to take it, if there were occasion.

I know a medicine for Mr. Bayes his Hiccough (it is but naming *J. O.*) but I cannot tell certainly, though I have a shrew'd guess what is the cause of it. For indeed all his Arguments here are so abrupt and short, that I cannot liken them better, considering too that frequent and perpetual repetition. Such as this, *Why may not the Sovereign Power bestow this Priviledge upon Ceremony, as well as Use and Custom, by vertue of its Prerogative? What greater Immortality is there in them when determined by the Command and Institution of the Prince, than when by the consent and institution of the people?* This is the Tap-lash of what he said, p. 110. *When the Civil Magistrate takes upon him to determin any particular Forms of outward Wor-*

ship, it is of no worse Consequence than if he should go about to define the signification of all the words used in the worship of God.

And page 108. of his first Book: So that all the Magistrates power of instituting significant Ceremonies, &c. can be no more Usurpation upon the CONSCIENCES of Men, than if the Sovereign Authority should take upon it self, as some Princes have done, to define the signification of words.

And afterwards, the same gesture, and actions are indifferently capable of signifying either Honour or Contumely: And so words; and therefore it is necessary that their signification should be determined, &c.

This is all very well worth reading. Page 441. of his second Book.

It is no other Usurpation upon their Subjects Consciences than if he should take upon him to refine their Language, and determine the proper signification of all Phrases imployed in Divine Worship, as well as in all Trades, Arts, and Sciences.

Page 1461. of the same; *Once we will so far gratifie the tenderness of their Consciēces and curiosity of their Fancies, as to promise never to ascribe any other significancy to things than what himself is here content to bestow upon words.*

And 462 of the same. *So that you see, my Comparison between the signification of Words and Ceremonies stands firm as the Pillars of the Earth, and the Foundations of our Faith.*

Mr. Bayes might, I see, have spared Sir Salomon's Sword of the Divine Institution of the Sacraments. Here is the terriblest Weapon in all his Armory; and therefore I perceive, reserved by our Duellist for the last Onset.

And, I who am a great Well-wisher to the Pillars of the Earth, or the eight Elephants, lest we should have an Earthquake; and much more a Servant to the King's Prerogative, lest we should fall into confusion; and perfectly devoted to the Foundations of our Faith, lest we run out into Popery or Paganism; have no heart to this incounter, lest if I should

prove that the Magistrates absolute unlimited and uncontrolable Power doth not extend to define the signification of all words, I should thereby not only be the occasion of all those mischiefs mentioned, but, which is of far more dismal Importance, the loss of two or three so significant Ceremonies. But though I therefore will not dispute against the Flower of the Princes Crown, yet I hope that without doing much harm, I may observe that for the most part they left it to the People, and seldom themselves exercised it. And even *Augustus Cæsar*, though he was so great an Emperour, and so valiant a man in his own person, who used to fly from a new word though it were single, as studiously as a Mariner would avoid a Rock for fear of splitting. The difference of one Syllable in the same word hath made as considerable a Controversy as most have been in the Church, betwixt the *Homousians* and the *Homoiousians*. One letter in the name of Beans in *Languedoc*, one party calling them *Faves*, and the other *Haves*;

as the transposition onely of a letter a, another time in the name of a Goat, by some call'd *Crabe*, and by others *Crabre*, was the loss of more men's lives than the distinguishing but by an Aspiration in *Shiboleth* upon the like occasion. So that if a man would be learnedly impertinent, he might enlarge here to show that 'tis as dangerous to take a man by the tongue, as a Bear by the tooth. And had I a mind to play the Politician, like Mr. *Bayes*, upon so pleasant and copious a Subject, I would demonstrate that though the imposition of Ceremonies hath bred much mischief in the world, yet (shall I not venture too on a word once for tryal) such a Penetration or Transubstantiation of Language would throw all into Rebellion and Anarchy, would shake the Crowns of all Princes, and reduce the World into a second *Babel*. Therefore Mr. *Bayes* I doubt you were not well advised to make so close an Analogy betwixt imposing of significant words and significant Ceremonies: for I fear the Argument may be improved against

you, and that Princes finding that of words so impracticable, and of ill consequence, will conclude that of Ceremonies to be no less pernicious. And the Nonconformists (who are great Traders, you know, in Scripture, will be certainly on your back. For they will appropriate your pregnant Text of *Let all things be done decently and in order*, to preaching or praying in an unknown Tongue, which such an imposition of words would be: and then, to keep you to your Similitude, they will say too, that yours are all Latine Ceremonies, and the Congregation does not understand them. But were not this Dominion of words so dangerous, (for how many millions of men did it cost your *Roman Empire* to attain it!) Yet it was very unmannerly in you to assign to Princes, who have enough beside, so mean a trouble. When you gave them leave to exercise Priesthood in person; that was something to the purpose; That was both Honorable, and something.

thing belongs to it that would have
 help'd to bear the charge. But this
 Mint of words will never quit cost, nor
 pay for the coynage. This is such a
 drudgery; that, rather than undergo
 it, I dare say, there is no Prince but
 would resign to you so pedantical a
 Sovereignty. I cannot but think how
 full that Princes head must be of Pro-
 clamations. For, if he published but
 once a Proclamation to that purpose,
 he must forthwith set out another to
 stamp and declare the signification of
 all the words contained in it, and then
 another to appoint the meaning of all
 the words in this, and so on: that here
 is work cut out in one Paper of State
 for the whole Privy Council, both Se-
 cretaries of State, and all the Clerks of
 the Council, for one Kings Reign, and
in infinitum. But, I cannot but won-
 der, knowing how ambitious Mr. Bayes
 is of the power over words, and jealous
 of his own Prerogative of refining Lan-
 guage, how he came to be so liberal of
 it to the Prince: Why, the same thing
 that induced him to give the Prince a
 power

power antecedent and independent to *Christ*, and to establish what Religion he pleased, &c. Nothing but his spight against the Non-conformists. I know not that thing in the world, except a Jest, that he would not part with to be satisfied in that particular. He hoped doubtless by holding up this Maxim, to obtain that the words of the Declaration of the 15th *March* should be understood by contraries. You may well think he expected no less an equivalent, he would never else have permitted the Prince even to define the signification of all words used in the Worship of God, and to determine the proper signification of all Phrases imploy'd in Divine Worship. Nay Mr, *Bayer*, if it be come to that, and you will surrender your Liturgy to the Prince, I know not what you mean; for 'tis bound up with your Bible. Was it ever heard that that Book so sacred, and in which there could not one error be found by all the *Presbyterians* at the *Worster-House-Conference*, should, upon so uncertain a prospect
be

be now abandon'd so far, as that every word and Phrase in it may receive a new and contrary signification ! But the King for ought I see likes it well enough as it is (and therefore I do so too.) Yet in case his Majesty should ever think fit to reform it, and because such kind of work is usually refer'd back to some of the Clergy ; I would gladly put in a *Caveat*, that our Author may in no case be one of them. For 'tis known that Mr. Bayes is subject to a distemper ; and who knows but when he is in a fit, as he made such mad alterations of the fruit of the Spirit in the Epistle for the day, he may as well insert in some other part of the *Service*, *welfare poor Macedo for a modest Fool*; and then, *Oh how I hug thee, Dear Heart, for this !* and pretend that the Supreme Magistrate should stamp upon it a signification sacred and serious. I would not have spoken so severely of him, but that his *more labour'd periods*, as he calls them, are so often fill'd with much bolder and more unwholesome translations. But however that he may not

at his better intervals be wholly unemploy'd in the work of Uniformity, should recommend to him rather to turn the *Liturgy* and the *Rationale* into the Universal Language, and so in time the whole World might come to be of his Parish.

When he was drawn thus low, did not he, think you, stand need of tilting? He had done much more service to the Cause, had he laid by all those cheating Argumentations, and dealt candidly, like the good Arch Deacon not long since dead; who went about both Court and Countrey, preaching upon the *Cloke left at Troas*, and the *Books*, but especially the *Parchments*. The honest Man had found out there the whole Liturgy, the Canonical Habits, and all the Equipage of a Conformist. This was something to the matter in hand, to produce Apostolical Example and Authority: And much more to the purpose than that beaten Text of *doing all things decently and in order*.

One Argument I confess remains still behind, and that will justify any thing.

thing. 'Tis that which I call'd lately
Rationem ultimam Cleri; Force, Law,
 Execution, or what you will have it. I
 would not be mistaken, as though I there-
 by meant the body of the *English* Clergy,
 who have been ever since the Reforma-
 tion (I say it without disparagement
 to the Foraign Churches) of the most
 Eminent for Divinity and Piety in all
 Christendom. And as far am I from
 censuring, under this Title, the Bishops
 of *England*, for whose Function, their
 Learning, their Persons I have too deep
 a veneration to speak anything of them
 irreverently. But those that I intend
 onely, are a particular bran of persons,
 who will in spite of Fate be account-
 ed the Church of *England*, and to shew
 they are Pluralists, never write in a mo-
 dest Stile than *We, We*; nay, even these,
 severall of them, are men of parts suffici-
 ent to deserve a Rank among the Tea-
 chers and Governors of the Church.
 Onely what Bishop *Bramhall* saith of
Grotius, his defect in School Divinity;

Unum

Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deesse.

I may apply to their excess and rigour in matter of Discipline. They want all consideration, all moderation in those things; and I never heard of any of them at any time, who, if they got into Power or Office, did ever make the least experiment or overture towards the peace of the Church and Nation they lived in. They are the *Politick would-be's* of the Clergy. Not Bishops, but men that have a mind to be Bishops, and that will do any thing in the World to compass it. And, though Princes have always a particular mark upon these Men, and value them no more than they deserve, yet I know not very well, or perhaps I do know, how it oftentimes happens that they come to be advanced. They are Men of a fiery nature that must always be uppermost, and so they may increase their own Splendor, care not though they set all on flame about them. You would think the same day that they took

took up Divinity they divested themselves of humanity, & so they may procure & execute a Law against the Non-conformists, that they had forgot the Gospel. They cannot endure that Humility, that Meekness, that Strictness of Manners and Conversation, which is the true way of gaining Reputation and Authority to the Clergy; much less can they content themselves with the ordinary and comfortable provision that is made for the Ministry: But, having wholly calculated themselves for preferment, and Grandeur, know or practice no other means to make themselves venerable but by Ceremony and Severity. Whereas the highest advantage of promotion is the opportunity of condescension, and the greatest dignity in our Church can but raise them to the Title of *Your Grace*, which is in the Latine *Vestra Clementia*. But of all these, none are so eager & virulent, as some, who having had relation to the late times, have got access to *Ecclesiastical Fortunes*, and are resolved to make their best of her. For so,
of

of all Beasts, none are so fierce and cruel as those that have been taught once by hunger to prey upon their own kind; as of all Men, none are so inhumane as the *Canibals*. But whether this be the true way of ingratiating themselves with a generous and discerning Prince, I meddle not; nor whether it be an ingenuous practice towards those whom they have been formerly acquainted with: but whatsoever they think themselves obliged to for the approving of their new Loyalty I rather commend. That which astonishes me, and onely raises my indignation is, that of all sorts of Men, this kind of Clergy should always be, and have been for the most precipitate, brutish, and sanguinary Counsels. The former Civil War cannot make them wise, nor his Majesties Happy Return, good natured; but they are still for running things up unto the same extreams. The softness of the Universities where they have been bred, the gentleness of Christianity in which they have been nurtured, hath

but

but exasperated their nature ; and they seem to have contracted no *Idea* of wisdom, but what they learnt at School, the Pedantry of Whipping. They take themselves qualified to Preach the Gospel, and no less to intermeddle in affairs of State: Though the reach of their Divinity is but to persecution, and an Inquisition is the height of their Policy.

And you Mr. Bayes, had you lived in the dayes of *Augustus Cesar* (be not scandalized, for why may you not bring sixteen hundred years, as well as five hours into one of your Playes ?) would not you have made, think you, an excellent Privy Counsellour ? His Father too was murdered. Or (to come nearer both to our times, and your resemblance of the late War, which you trumpet alwaies in the Ear of his Majesty) had you hapen'd in the time of *Henry the fourth of France*, should not you have done well in the Cabinet ? His Predecessor too was assassinated. No, Mr. Bayes, you would not have been for their purpose: They took o-

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ther

ther measures of Government, and accordingly it succeeded with them. And His Majesty, whose Genius hath much of both those Princes, and who derives half of the Blood in his Veins from the latter, will in all probability not be so forward to hearken to your advice as to follow their Example. For these Kings, Mr. *Bayes*, how negligent soever or ignorant you take 'em to be, have I doubt, a shrewd understanding with them. 'Tis a Trade, that God be thanked, neither you nor I are of, and therefore we are not so competent Judges of their Actions. I myself have often times seen them, some of them do strange things, and unreasonable in my opinion, and yet a little while, or sometimes many years after I have found that all the men in the world could not have contrived any thing better. 'Tis not with them as with you. You have but one Cure of Souls, or perhaps two, as being a Noblemans Chaplain, to look after: And if you make Conscience of discharging them as you ought, you would

would find you had work sufficient, without writing your *Ecclesiastical Policies*. But they are the Incumbents of whole Kingdoms, and the Rectorship of the Common people, the Nobility, and even of the Clergy, whom you are prone to affirm when possess'd with Principles that incline to Rebellion and disloyal practises, to be of all Rebels the most dangerous, p. 49. the Care I say of all these rests upon them. So that they are fain to condescend to many things for peace-sake, and the quiet of Mankind, that your proud heart would break before it would bend to. They do not think fit to require any thing that is impossible, unnecessary, or wanton, of their people; but as fain to consider the very temper of the Climate in which they live, the Constitution and Laws under which they have been formerly bred, and upon all occasions to give them good words, and humour them like Children. They reflect upon the Histories of former times, and the present Transactions to regulate themselves by in every cir-

cumstance. They observe how the Parliament of *Poland* will be their King's Taylor, and among other Reasons, because he would not wear their Mode, have suffered the *Turk* to enter, as coming nearer their Fashion. Nay, that even *Alexander the Great* had almost lost all he had conquered by forcing his Subjects to conform to the *Persian* habit. That the King of *Spain*, when upon a Progress he enters *Biscay*, is pleased to ride with one Leg naked, and above all to take care that there be not any Bishop in his Retinue. So their people will pay their Taxes in good Gold and Silver; they demand no Subsidy of so many bushel of Fleas, lest they should receive the same answer with the Tyrant, that the Subject could not furnish that quantity; and besides they would be leaping out still before they could be measured; and should they finde the people for non-payment, they reckon there would be little got by distraining. They have been told that a certain Queen being
desi-

desired to give a Town-Seal to one of her Cities, lighting from Horse, fate down naked on the Snow, and left them that Impression; and though it caused no disturbance, but all the Town-Leases are Letters-Patents; Kings do not approve the Example. That the late Queen of Sweden did her self no good with saying, *Io non voglio governar le Bestie*, but afterwards resigned. That the occasion of the revolt of *Switzerland* from the Emperour, and its turning Commonwealth, was onely the imposing of a Civil Ceremony by a Capricious Governour, who set up a Pole in the high-way with a Cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all Passengers be uncover'd, and to do obeysance. One sturdy *Swiss*, that would not conform, thereupon overturn'd the Government, as 'tis at large in History. That the King of *Spain* lost *Flanders* chiefly upon introducing the Inquisition. And you now Mr. *Bayes* will think these and an hundred more that I could tell you, but

idle stories, and yet Kings can tell how to make use of 'em. And hence 'tis that in stead of assuming your unhoopable jurisdiction, they are so satisfied with the abundance of their power, that they rather think meet to abate of its exercise by their discretion. The greater their fortune is, they are content to use the less extravagancy.

But because I see, Mr. *Bayes*, you are a little deaf on this ear, I will talk somewhat closer to you. In this very matter of Ceremonies, which you are so bent upon, that your mind is alwayes running on't when you should be hearkning to the Sermon; do not you think that the King knows every word you said, although he never gave your Book the reading? That you say, that the Clause 50 *Eliz.* of the *Wednesday-Fast* has been the Original of all the Puritan Disorders. That the Controversy is now reduced onely to two or three Symbolical Ceremonies. That these Ceremonies are things indifferent in their own nature,

and

and have no antecedent necessity, but only bind as they are commanded. That they signify nothing in themselves but what the Commander pleases. That the Church it self declares that there is nothing of Religion or adoration in them. That they are no parts of Religious Worship. That they are only Circumstances. That the imposing of a significant Ceremony, is no more than to impose significance upon a word. That there is not a word of any of these Ceremonies in the Scriptures. That they are in themselves of no great moment and consequence, but 'tis absolutely necessary that Government should injoyn them, to avoid the evil that would follow if they were not determined: and that there cannot be a Pin pull'd out of the Church, but the State immediately totters. Do not you think that the King has considered all these things? I believe he has; and perhaps, as you have minced the matter, he may well think the Nonconformists have very nice Stomachs, that they cannot digest such chopp'd hay:

But on the other side, he must needs take you to be very strange men, to cram these in spite down the throats of any Christian. If a man have an Antipathy against any thing, the Company is generally so civil, as to refrain the use of it, however not to press it upon the person. If a man be sick or weak the Pope grants a Dispensation from *Lent*, or Fasting daies : ay, and from many a thing that strikes deeper in his Religion. If one have got a cold, their betters will force them to be covered. There is no end of Similitudes : but I am led into them by your calling these Ceremonies, Pins of the Church. It would almost tempt a Prince that is curious, and that is settled (God be praised) pretty fast in his Throne ; to try for experiment, whether the pulling out of one of these Pins would make the State totter. But, Mr. Bayes, there is more in it. 'Tis matter of Conscience : and if Kings do, out of Discretion, connive at the other infirmities of their People ; If great persons do out of civility condescend to their inferious ; and if all
men

men out of common humanity do yield to the weaker ; Will your Clergy only be the men, who, in an affair of Conscience, and where perhaps 'tis you are in the wrong, be the only hard hearted and inflexible Tyrants ; and not only so, but instigate and provoke Princes to be the ministers of your cruelty ?

But, I say, Princes, so far as I can take the height of things so far above me, must needs have other thoughts, and are past such boyes-play to stake their Crowns against your Pins. They do not think fit to command things unnecessary, and where the Profit cannot countervail the hazard. But above all they consider, that God has instated them in the Government of Mankind, with that incumbrance (if it may so be called) of Reason, and that incumbrance upon Reason of Conscience. That he might have given them as large an extent of ground and other kind of cattle for their Subjects ; but it had been a melancholy Empire to have been only Supreme Grasiers and Sovereign Shepherds. And therefore, though the laziness

ziness of that brutal magistracy might have been more secure, yet the difficulty of this does make it more honourable. That men therefore are to be dealt with reasonably: and conscientious men by Conscience. That even Law is force, and the execution of that Law a greater Violence; and therefore with rational creatures not to be used but upon the utmost extremity. That the Body is in the power of the mind; so that corporal punishments do never reach the offender, but the innocent suffers for the guilty. That the Mind is in the hand of God, and cannot correct those perswasions which upon the best of its natural capacity it hath collected: So that it too, though erroneous, is so far innocent. That the Prince therefore, by how much God hath indued him with a clearer reason, and by consequence with a more enlightened judgment ought the rather to take heed lest by punishing Conscience, he violate not only his own, but the Divine Majesty.

But as to that Mr. *Bayer*, which you
still

still inculcate of the late War, and its
 horrid Catastrophe, which you will
 needs have to be upon a religious ac-
 count: 'Tis four and twenty years ago,
 and after an *Act of Oblivion*; and for
 ought I can see, it had been as seasona-
 ble to have shown *Cæsars* bloody Coat,
 or *Thomas a Becket's* bloody Rochet.
 The chief of the offenders have long
 since made satisfaction to Justice, & the
 whole Nation hath been swept suffici-
 ently of late years by those terrible
 scourges of Heaven: So that methinks
 you might in all this while have satiated
 your mischievous appetite. Watsoever
 you suffered in those times, his Ma-
 jesty who had much the greater loss,
 knowing that the memory of his Glo-
 rious Father will alwayes be preserved,
 is the best Judge how long the Re-
 venge ought to be pursued. But if in-
 deed out of your superlative care of
 his Majesty and your *Living*, you are
 afraid of some new disturbance of
 the same nature, let me so far satisfy
 you as I am satisfied. The Noncon-
 formists say that they are bound in
 Con-

Conscience to act as far as they can, and for the rest to suffer to the utmost. But because though they do mean honestly, 'tis so hard a Chapter for one that thinks himself in the right to suffer extremities patiently, that some think it impossible; I say next, that its very seldom seen that in the same age, a Civil War, after such an interval, has been raised again upon the same pretences: But Men are all so weary, that he would be knock'd on the head that should raise the first disturbance of the same nature. A new War must have, like a Book that would sell, a new Title. I am asham'd Mr. *Bayes* that you put me on talking thus impertinently (for Policy in us is so) Therefore to be short, the King hath so indulged and obliged the Non-conformists by his late mercy, that if there were any such Knave, there can be no such Fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought against him. And for you Mr. *Bayes*, he is assured of your Loyalty, so that I think you may enjoy your *Living* very peaceably, which

which I know is all your business. 'Twas well replyed of the *English* man in *Edward* the *fourth*s time, to the *French* man that ask'd him insulting, When they should see us there again? *When your Sins are greater than ours.* There are as many occasions of War, as there are Vices in a Nation; and therefore it concerns a Prince to be watchful on all hands. But should Kings remember an injury as long as you implacable Divines do, or should we take up Arms upon your Peecks, because your Ecclesiastical Policy is answered to revenge your quarrel, the World would never be at quiet. Therefore Mr. *Bayes* let all those things of former times alone, and mind your own business; for Kings, believe me, as they have Royall understandings, so have Gentlemens memories.

And now Mr. *Bayes* I think it is time to take my leave, having troubled you with so long a visit. Only before I quit this matter, because I do not love to be accounted singular in my opinion, I will add the judgment of one
 Author,

Author, and that as pertinent as I could pick out to our purpose. I have observed that not onely other Princes, but Queen *Elizabeth* too hath the misfortune to be much out of your favour. But for what reason I cannot possibly imagine; for none ever deserved better as to the thing of Uniformity, unless it be the ill luck she had to pass that *impertinent Clause* in the Act 5^o *Eliz.* of the *Jejunium Cecilianum*. You cannot, for her sake, indure the Wit or Learning of her times, but say, p. 94. of your second Book, *Though this trifling Artifice of sprinkling little fragments of Wit and Poetry might have passed for Wit and Learning in the daies of Queen Elizabeth, yetto men of Learning, Reading and Ingenuity, their vulgar use has sullied their lustre and abated their value.* This is indeed, Mr. Bayes, a very laboured period, and prepared by you, I believe, on purpose as a model of the Wit and Eloquence of your daies. But not onely so; but p. 483. of the same Book, I think you call her in derision and most spightfully and unmannerly, plain
old

Old Elſibeth. And thoſe that knew her humour, think you could not have diſobliged her more than in ſtiling her ſo; both as a Woman, which Sex never love to be thought old, and as a Queen, who was jealous leſt Men ſhould therefore talk of the ſucceſſion. Beſides the irreverent nick-name you give her, that you might as well have preſumed to call her *Queen Beſſ*, or *Bold Betrice*. Now to the end that that Queen of famous Memory may have a little female revenge upon you, and to give you a taſte of the Wit and Learning even of her times; I will ſprinkle here one *fragment*, which not being a *Scholar-like ſaying of ancient Poet or Philoſopher*, but of a Reverend Divine, I hope, Mr. *Bayer*, may be leſs diſpleaſing to you. The Man is *Parker*. Not *Robert Parker*, who writ another Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Policy, and the Book *de Cruce*, for which if they had catch'd him, he had poſſibly gone to the Gallows, or at leaſt the Gallies. For he was one of thoſe well-meaning Zealots, that are of all Villains the
moſt

most dangerous. But it is the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Parker*, (For if I named him before without addition, 'twas what I learnt of you, speaking of *Whitgift*) He in his Book *de Antiquitatibus Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, p. 47. speaking of the slaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, and so many Christians more; upon the instigation of *Austin* the Monk, who stirred up *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* against them; because they would not receive the Romish Ceremonies; useth these words, *Et sane illa prima de Romanis Ritibus inducendis per Augustinum tunc excitata contentio, quæ non nisi clade & sanguine innocentium Britannorum poterat extinguï; ad nostra recentiora tempora, cum simili perniciæ eadæque Christianorum pervenit. Cum enim illis gloriosis ceremoniis à purâ Primitivæ Ecclesiæ simplicitate recesserunt, non de vitæ sanctitate, de Evangelii prædicatione, de spiritûs sancti vi& consolatione multum laborabant; sed novas indies altercationes de novis ritibus per Papas singulos additis, qui neminem tam excelsò gradu dignum qui*
aliqued,

aliquid, ceremoniosi non dicam, monstriosi
 inauditi & inusitati non adiecisset; insti-
 tuebant. Suggestaque & scholas fabulis
 rixisque suis implebant. Nam prima
 Ecclesiæ species simplicior & integro &
 interno Dei cultu, ab ipso Verbo præ-
 scripta, nec vestibus splendidis, nec mag-
 nificis structuris decorata, nec auro, ur-
 gento, gemmisque fulgens fuit: Etsi li-
 ceat his exterioribus uti modo animum ab
 illo interiori & integro Dei cultu non ab-
 ducant; Curiosus & morosis ritibus ab illa
 primæva & recta simplicitate Evangelica
 degeneravit. Illa autem in Romana Ec-
 clesia rituum multitudo ad immensum illi-
 us magni Augustini Hippoensis Episcopi
 temporibus creverat: ut questus sit Christi-
 anorum in Ceremoniis & ritibus durior em
 tunc fuisse conditionem quam Judæorum,
 qui etiam si tempus Libertatis non agnova-
 rint, Legalibus tamen sarcinis non huma-
 nis præsumptionibus subiciebantur; nam
 paucioribus in divino cultu quam Christia-
 ni Ceremoniis utebantur. Qui si sensisset
 quantum deinde per singulos Papas coacer-
 vatus comulus accessit, modum Christia-
 num credo ipse statuisset; qui hoc malum

tunc in Ecclesia viderat. Videmus enim ab illa ceremoniarum contentione nedum Ecclesiam esse vacuum; quin homines alioquin docti atque pii de vestibus & huiusmodi nugis adhuc, rixoso magis & militare, quam aut Philosophico aut Christiano more inter se digladiantur.

These words do run so direct against the Genius of some men that contributed not a little to the late Rebellion, and, though so long since writ, do so exactly describe that evil spirit with which some men are even in these times possess'd, who seem desirous upon the same grounds to put all things in combustion, that I think them very well worth the labour of translating. (And indeed, that first contention then rais'd by *Augustine* about the introducing of the Romish Ceremonies, which could not be quenched but by the blood and slaughter of the innocent *Britains*; hath been continued e'n to our later times, with the like mischief and murder of Christians. For when once by those glorious Ceremonies they forsook the pure simplicity of the Primitive Church, they did not much

much trouble themselves about Holiness of Life, the preaching of the Gospel, the efficacy and the comfort of the Holy Spirit: but they fell every day into new squabbles about new fangled Ceremonies added by every Pope, who reckoned no man worthy of so high a degree but such as invented somewhat, I will not say Ceremonious, but monstrous, unheard of, and before unpractised; and they fill'd the Schools and the Pulpits with their Fables and brawling of such matters. For the first beauty of the Church had more of simplicity and plainness; and was neither adorned with splendid Vestments, nor magnificent structures, nor shin'd with gold, silver and precious stones; but with the intire and inward worship of God, as it was by Christ himself prescribed. Although it may be lawful to use these external things, so they do not lead the mind astray from that more inward and entire worship of God; by those curious and crabbed Rites it degenerated from that antient and right Evangelical Simplicity. But that mul-

titude of Rites in the Romish Church
 had unmeasurably increased in the
 times of that great *Augustine* the Bishop
 of *Hippo*, in so much that he complain-
 ed that the Condition of the Christians
 as to Rites and Ceremonies, was then
 harder than that of the Jews; who al-
 though they did not discern the time of
 their Liberty, yet were onely subjected
 to Legal burthens, instituted first by
 God himself, not to humane presump-
 tions. For they used fewer Ceremo-
 nies in the Worship of God than Chri-
 stians. Who, if he could have fore-
 seen how great a heap of them was
 afterwards piled up, and added by the
 several Popes, he himself doubtless
 would have restrained it within Chris-
 tian measure, having already perceived
 this growing evil in the Church. For
 we see, that even yet the Church is not
 free from that contention. but men,
 otherwise learned and pious, do still
 cut and slash about Vestments and such
 kind of trifles, rather in a Swash buck-
 ler and Hectoring way than, either like
 Philosophers or like Christians.)

Now

Now Mr. Bayes, I doubt you must be put to the trouble of writing another Preface against this Arch-bishop. For nothing in your Answerers Treatise of *Evangelical Love* does so gird or aim at you, for ought I can see, or at those whom you call the Church of *England*, as this Passage. But the last period does so plainly delineate you to the life, that what St. *Austine* did not preface, the Bishop seems to have foreseen most distinctly. 'Tis just your way of writing all along in this matter. You bring nothing found or solid. Onely you think you have got the *Great Secret*, or the *Philosophers Stone* of Railing, and I believe it, you have so multiplied it in *Projection*: and as they into Gold, so you turn every thing you meet with into Railing. And yet the Secret is not great, nor the *Process* long or difficult, if a man would study it, and make a Trade on't. Every Scold hath it naturally. It is but crying Whore first, and having the last word, and wharsoever t'other sayes, cry, Oh these are your Nonconfor-

snits tricks; Oh you have learnt this
 of the Puritans in *Grubstreet*. Oh you
White-apron'd Gossip. For indeed, I
 never saw so provident a fetch; you
 have taken in before hand all the Posts
 of railing, and so beset all the Topicks
 of just crimination, foreseeing where
 you are feeble, that if this trick would
 pass, it were impossible to open ones
 mouth to find the least fault with you.
 For in your first Chapter of your second
 Book, beside what you do always in an
 hundred places when you are at a loss,
 you have spent almost an hundred pa-
 ges upon a *Character of the Fanatick depor-
 tment towards all Adversaries*. And then
 on the other side, you have so ingrossed
 and bought up all the Ammunition of
 Railing, search'd every corner in the Bi-
 ble, and *Don Quixot* for Powder, that you
 thought, not unreasonably, that there
 was not one shot left for a Fanatick.
 But truth, you see, cannot want words:
 and she will laugh too sometimes when
 she speaks, and rather than all fail too,
 be serious. But what wil you say to that
 of the Arch-bishops, *than either like Phi-*
losophers

Philosophers or like Christians? For the excellency of your Logick, Philosophy and Christianity in all your Books, is either, as in *Conscience*, to take away the subject of the question: or, as in the *Magistrate*, having gotten one absurdity, to raise a thousand more from it. So that, except the manufacture and labor of your periods, you have done no more than any School-boy could have done on the same terms. And so, Mr. Bayes, Good night.

And now Good-morrow, Mr. Bayes; For though it seems so little a time and that you are but now gone to bed, it hath been a whole live-long night, and you have toss'd up and down in many a troublesome Dream, and are but just now awaked at the Title Page of your Book:

A Preface shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery.

It is something artificially couch'd; but looks, as if it did allow, that there are some Grounds of Fears and Jealousies of that nature. But here he words it;

*A Consideration what likelihood, or how
much danger there is of the return
of Popery into this Nation.*

Had he not come to this at last, I should have thought I had been all this while reading a Chapter in *Mountagues Essays*; where you find sometimes scarce one word in the discourse of the matter held forth in the Title. But now indeed he takes up this Argument and debates it to purpose. For I had before begun to shew that he had writ not only his two former Books, but especially too this Preface, with an evil eye and aim at his Majesty, and the Measures he had taken of Government. And whoever will take the pains to read here, will soon be of my mind. His Majesty had I said the 15th of March 1671. issued his Declaration of Indulgence to tender Consciences. He, on the Contrary, issues out thereupon, all in haste and as fast as he could write, this his Remonstrance or Manifesto against Indulgence to tender Consciences: and to make his Majesties proceedings more odious,

odious, stirs up this seditious matter, of what probability there is of Popery.

And this he discourses, to be sure, in his own imagination very cunningly. For he knows that there was an Act of Parliament in this Kings Reign with a greater penalty than that of 50 *Eliz.* of spreading false News, against reports of this nature. And therefore, he resolves to handle it so warily, that he himself might escape, but might draw others that should answer him, within the danger of that Act and that he might lay the crime at their doors. But, notwithstanding all his flights and *Legerdemain* it doth enough detect his malice and ill intention to his Majesties Government, that he should take this occasion, altogether foreign and unseasonable, to raise a publick and solemn discourse through the whole Nation, concerning a matter the most odious and dangerous that could be exposed. So that now, no man can look at the wall, no man can pass by a Book-sellers stall, but he must see *A Preface showing what* **FOUNDATIONS** *there are for* **FEARS and JEALOUSIES**

LOUSIES of *POPERY*. It had been something a safer and more dutiful way of writing, A Preface shewing the CAUSELESSNESS of the Fears and Jealousies of *POPERY*. For I do not think it will excuse a Witch to say, That she conjur'd up a Spirit onely that she might lay it: nor can there be a more dexterous and malicious way of calumny, than by making a needless Apology for another, in a criminal Subject. As, suppose I should write a Preface showing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of *Bayes* his being an Atheist. But this is exactly our Authors method and way of contrivance; whereby, more effectually by far than by any flying Coffee-house tattle, he traduces the State, and by printing so pernicious a question fills all mens mouths, & beats out all mens eyes with the probability of the return of *POPERY*. Had he heard any that malignly and officiously talk'd to such a purpose, it had been the part of one so prudent as he is, not to have continued the Discourse. Had he

he (as he hath a great gift that way) pick'd up out of any mans talk or writing, matter whereof to make an ill story; there was a better and a more regular way of proceeding, had he meant honestly to his Majesties Government, to have prevented the evil, and to have brought the offender to punishment. He should have gone to one of the Secretaries of State, or to some other of his Majesties Privy Council, and have given them Information. But, instead of that, I am afraid that in the survey of this business, we shall find, that even some of them are either accused, or shrowdly mark'd out with a Character of our Authors displeasure. Therefore, I will now come nearer to his matter in hand, although it concerns me to be careful of coming too near, nor shall I dwell too long upon so jealous and impertinent a subject.

To consider what likelihood or how much danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation. The very first word is;

For my part, I know none. Very well considered. Why then, Mr. Bayes, I must

must tell you, that if I had printed a Book or Preface upon that Argument, I should have thought my self, at least a Fool for my labour. The next considerer is mine Enemy; I mean he is an Enemy to the State, whoever shall foment such discourses without any likelihood or danger. Yet Mr. *Bayes*, you know, I have for a good while had no great opinion of your Integrity; neither here. I doubt you prevaricate a little with some body. For, I suppose you cannot be ignorant that some of your superiours of your Robe did, upon the publishing that Declaration, give the Word, and deliver Orders through their Ecclesiastical Camp, to beat up the Pulpit-drums against Popery. Nay, even so much that there was care taken too for arming the poor Readers, that though they came short of Preachers in point of efficacy, yet they might be enabled to do something in point of common Security. So that, though for so many years, some of your Superiours had forgot there was any such thing in the Nation as a Popish Recusant though

Polemical and Controversial Divinity had for so long been hung up in the Halls, like the rusty obsolete Armour of our Ancestors, for monuments of Antiquity; and for derision rather than service; all on a sudden (as if the 15th of *March* had been the 5th of *November*) happy was he that could climb up first to get down one of the old Cuirasses, or an Habergeon that had been worn in the dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*. Great variety there was, and an heavy doo. Some clapp'd it on all rusty as it was, others fell of oyling and furbishing their Armour: Some piss'd in their Barrels, others spit in their pans, to scowr them. Here you might see one put on his Helmet the wrong way: there one buckle on a Back in place of a Breast. Some by mistake caught up a Socinian or Arminian Argument, and some a Popish to fight a Papist. Here a Dwarf lost in the accoutrements of a Giant: there a *Don Quixot* in an equipage of differing pieces, and of several Parishes. Never was there such Incongruity and Nonconformity in their fur-

furniture. One ran to borrow a Sword of *Cabot*. This man for a Musket from *Beza*: that for a Bandeleers even from *Keckerman*. But when they came to seek for Match, and Bullet, and Powder, there was none to be had. The Fanatics had bought it all up, and made them pay for it most unconscionably, and through the Nose. And no less sport was it to see their Leaders. Few could tell how to give the word of Command, nor understood to drill a Company: They were as unexpert as their Souldiers awkward: and the whole was as pleasant a spectacle, as the exercising of the Train d'bands in—*shire*. But Mr. *Bayes* (for I believe you do nothing but upon common advice, either this was all intended but for a false alarm, and was onely for a pretence to take arms against the Fanatics (which you might have done without raising all this din and obloquy against the State, and disquieting his Majesties good Subjects: or else you did really think (and who can help misapprehensions?) that you did know some likelihood or danger

ger of the return of Popery. I crave you mercy, Mr. Bayes, I took you a little short. *For my part I know none, you say, but the Nonconformists boysterous and unreasonable opposition to the Church of England.*

This I confess hath some weight in it. For truly before *I knew none* too, I was of your Opinion Mr. Bayes, and believed that Popery could never return into *England* again, but by some very sinister accident. This expression of mine is something uncouth, and therefore because I love to give you satisfaction in all things, Mr. Bayes, I will acquaint you with my reason of using it. *Henry the fourth of France*, his Majesties Grandfather, lived (you know) in the days of *Queen Elizabeth*. Now the wit of *France* and *England*, as you may have observed, is much of the same mode, and hath at all times gone much after the same current Rate and Standard; onely there hath been some little difference in the alloy, and advantage or disadvantage in the exchange according to mens occasions. Now *Henry the fourth*, was (you know too)

too) } a Prince like Bishop Bramhall,
 of a brave and enterprizing temper, and
 had a mind large and active enough to have
 managed the Roman Empire at its utmost
 extent; and particularly (as far as the
 prejudice of the age (Old Elfbeths Age)
 would permit him) he was very witty
 and facetious, and the Courtiers strove
 to humor him always in it, and increase
 the mirth. So one night after Supper
 he gave them a Subject (which recrea-
 tion did well enough in those times,
 but were now insipid) upon which
 like Boyes at *Westminster*, they should
 make a *French Verse* extempore. The
 Subject was, *Un Accident sinistre*,
 Straight answers, I know not whether
 'twas *Bassompierre* or *Aubigne*.

*Un sinistre Accident & an Accident
 sinistre;*

*De voir un Pere Capuchin chevaucher
 un Ministre.*

For when I said, to see Popery return
 here would be a very sinister accident;
 I was just thinking upon that story of
 the

the Verses, to humour them in translation, being only this,

O what a trick unlucky, and how unlucky a trick,

*To see friend Doctor Patrick, bestrid by
Father Patrick !*

Which seem'd to me would be the most improbable and preposterous spectacle that ever was seen ; And yet if Popery come in, this must be and worse.

But now I see there is some danger by the Nonconformists opposition to the Church of *England*. And now your business is all fixed. The Fanatics are ready at hand to bear the blame of all things. Many a good job have I seen done in my time upon pretence of the Fanatics. I do not think Mr. Bayes ever brake his shins, but it is by stumbling upon a Fanatick. And how shall they bring in Popery? why thus, three ways. *First,*
By creating disorders and disturbances in

I

the

the State. Secondly, By the assistance of Atheism and Irreligion. Thirdly, By joining with crafty and Sacrilegious Statesmen in confederacy. Now here I remark two things. One, that however you do not find that the Fanaticks are inclinable to Popery, only they may accommodate it by creating disturbances in the State. Another is, that I see these Gentlemen, the Fanaticks, the Atheists, and the Sacrilegious Statesmen are not yet acquainted; but you have appointed them a meeting (I believe it must be at your Lodgings or no where;) and I hope you will treat them handsomly. But I think it was not so wisely done, nor very honestly, Mr. Boyer, to lay so dangerous a Plot as this; and instruct men that are strangers yet to one another, how to contrive together such a Conspiracy. But first to your first.

The Fanaticks you say may probably raise disturbances in the State. For they are so little friends to the present Government, that their enmity to that is one of the main grounds of their quarrel to the Church.

But

But now, though I must confess it is very much to your purpose, if you could persuade men so, I think you are clear out, and misrepresent here the whole matter. For I know of no enmity they have to the Church it self, but what it was in her power alwayes to have remedied, and so it is still. But such as you it is that have alwayes strove by your leasing to keep up a strangeness and misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people; and all the mischief hath come on't does much lye at your door. Whereas they, as all the rest of Mân-kind, are men for their own ends too: And no sooner hath the King shown them his late favour, but you Mr. *Bayes*, and your Partners reproach them for being too much friends to the Prerogative. And no less would they be to the Church, had they ever at any age in any time found her in a treatable temper. I know nothing they demand, but what is so far from doing you any harm, that it would only make you better. But that indeed is the harm, that is the thing you are

afraid of. Here our Author divides the discourse into a great Elogy of the Church of *England*; that if he were making her Funeral Sermon, he could not say more in her commendation; and a contrary invective against the Nonconformists, upon whom (as if all he had said before had been nothing) he unloads his whole Leystall, and dresseth them up all in *Sambenitas*, painted with all the flames & Devils in hell, to be led to the place of Execution, & there burnt to ashes. Nevertheless I find on either side only the natural effect of such Hyperboles and Oratory, that is, not to be believed. The Church of *England* (I mean as it is by Law established, lest you should think I equivocate) hath such a stock of solid and deserved reputation, that it is more than you (*Mr. Bayes*) can spoil or deface by all the Pedantry of your commendation. Only there is that partie of the Clergy, that I not long ago described, and who will alwaies presume to be the only Church of *England*, who have been a perpetual Bye-sore, that I may
not

not say a Canker and Gangreen in so perfect a beauty. And, as it joyes my heart to hear any thing well said of her; so, I must confess, it stirs my choer, when I hear those men pride and baste themselves under the Mask of her Authority. Neither did I therefore approve of an expression you here use: *The Power of Princes would be a very precarious thing without the assistance of Ecclesiasticks, and all Government do's and must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage.* That is as much as to say, That but for the assistance of your *Ecclesiastical Policy*, Princes might go a begging: and that the Church, that is you, have the *Jus Patronatus* of the Kingdom, and may present whom you think fitting to the Crown of *England*. This is indeed something like the return of Popery; and right

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rudolpho,

The Crown were surely well help'd up, if it were to be held at your conveni-

ence, and the Emperour must lead the
 Patriarchs As all his life-time, And
 little better do I like your *We may rest*
satisfied in the present Security of the
Church of England, under the Protection
of a wise and gracious Prince: especially
when besides the impregnable Confidence
that we have from his own Inclination, it
is so manifest, that he never can forsake it
either in Honour or Interest. This is
 a pretty way of cokesing indeed, while
 you are all this while cutting the grass
 under his feet, and animating the peo-
 ple against the exercise of his Ecclesia-
 stical Supremacy. Men are not so
 plain-hearted, but they can see through
 this oblique Rhetorication and Sophi-
 stry. If there be no danger in his time
 of taking a Pin out of the Church (for
 that it is you intend) why do you then
 speak of it in his time, but that you
 mean mischief? bus here you do not
 only mow the grass under his feet, but
 you take the pillow from under his
 head. But should it ever happen that
 any King of England should be prevail'd
 with to deliver up the Church, he had as
 good

good at the same time resign up his Crown.

This is pretty plain dealing, and you have doubtless secur'd hereby that Princes Favour: I should have thought it better Courtship in a Divine, to have said, O King, Live for ever. But I see Mr. *Bayer*, that you and your Partners are very necessary men, and it were dangerous disobliging you. But as in this imprudent and nauseous discourse, you have all along appropriated or impropriated all the Loyalty from the Nobility, the Gentry and the Commonalty, and dedicated it to the Church; So, I doubt, you are a little too immoderate against the body of the Nonconformists. You represent them, to a man, to be all of them of Republican Principles, most pestilent, and *eo nomine*, enemies to Monarchy; Traytors and Rebels; such miscreants as never was in the world before, and fit to be pack'd out of it with the first Convenience. And, I observe, that all the Argument of your Book is but very frivolous and trivial: onely the memory of the late War serves for demonstration,

monstration, and the detestable sentence and execution of his late Majesty, is represented again upon the Scaffold; and you having been, I suspect, better acquainted with Parliament Declarations formerly upon another account, do now apply and turn them all over to prove that the late War was wholly upon a Fanatical Cause, and the dissenting party do still go big with the same Monster. I grew hereupon much displeased with my own Ignorance of the occasion of those Troubles so near our own times, and betook my self to get the best Information concerning them, to the end that I might, if it appeared so, decline the dangerous acquaintance of the Nonconformists, some of whom I had taken for honest men, nor therefore avoided their Company. But I took care nevertheless, not to receive Impressions from any of their party; but to gather my lights from the most impartial Authorities that I could meet with. And I think I am now partly prepared to give you, Mr. Bayes, some better satisfaction in this mat-

matter. And because you are a dangerous person, I shall as little as possible, say any thing of my own, but speak too before good Witnesses. First of all therefore, I will without farther Ceremony, fall upon you with the but end of another Arch-bishop. 'Tis the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, in the Narrative under his own hand concerning his disgrace at Court in the time of his late Majesty. I shall only in the way demand excuse, if contrary to my fashion, the names of some eminent persons in our Church long since dead, be reviv'd here under no very good character; and most particularly that of Arch-bishop *Laud*, who, if for nothing else, yet for his learned Book against *Fisher*, deserved far another Fate than he met with, and ought not now to be mentioned without due honour. But those names having so many years since escaped the Press, it is not in my power to conceal them, and I believe Arch-bishop *Abbot* did not write but upon good Consideration.

This

This I have premised for mine own Satisfaction, and I will add one thing more, Mr. *Bayes*, for yours. That whereas the things now to be alledged relate much to some Impositions of Money in the late Kings time, that were carried on by the Clergy; I know you will presently be ready to carp at that, as if the Nonconformists had, and would be alwayes enemies to the Kings supply. Whereas, Mr. *Bayes*, if I can do the Nonconformists no good, I am resolv'd I will do them no harm, nor desire that they should lye under any imputation on my account. For I write by my own advice, and what I shall alledge concerning the Clergies intermedliug with supplies, is upon a particular averfion, that I have upon good reason, against their disposing of our Money. And Mr. *Bayes*, I will acquaint you with the Reason, which is this. 'Tis not very many years ago that I used to play at *Picket*; and there was a Gentleman of your robe a *Dignitary of Lincoln*, very well known and remembred in the Ordinaries, but
being

being not long since dead, I will save his name. Now I used to play *Pieces*, and this Gentleman would alwayes go half a Crown with me, and so all the while he sat on my hand he very honestly gave the Sign, so that I was alwayes sure to lose. I afterwards discovered it, but of all the money that ever I was cheated of in my life, none ever vexed me so, as what I lost by his occasion. And ever since, I have born a great grudge against their fingring of any thing that belongs to me. And I have been told, and shew'd the place where the man dwelt in the late King's time near *Hampton Court*, that there was one that used to rob on the highway, in the habit of a Bishop, and all his fellows rid too in Canonical Coats. And I can but fancy how it madded those, that would have perhaps been content to relieve an honest Gentleman in distress, or however would have been less grieved to be rob'd by such an one, to see themselves so *Episcopally* pillag'd. Neither must it be less displeasing alwayes to the Gentry and Commonalty

of

of *England*, that the Clergy) as you do Mr. *Bayes*) should tell them that they are never *sui Juris*, not only as to their Consciences, but even as to their Pur-ses; and you should pretend to have this *power of the Keyes* too, where they lock their Money. Nay, I dare almost aver upon my best observation, that there never was, nor ever will be a Par-liament in *England*, that could or can refuse the King supplies proportionable to his occasions, without any need of re-course to extraordinary ways; but for the pickthankness of some of the Cler-gy, who will alwayes presume to have the thanks and honour of it, nay, and are ready alwayes to obstruct the Par-liamentary Aids, unless they may have their own little project pass too into the bargain, and they may be gratified with some new *Ecclesiastical Power*, or some new Law against the *Fanaticks*. This is the naked truth of the matter. Whereas *English* men alwayes love to see how their money goes, and if there be any Interest or Profit to be got by it, to receive it themselves. Therefore Mr.

Bayes

Bayes I will go on with my business,
not fearing all the mischief that you can
make of it.

‘There was, *saith he*, one *Sibthorp*, who
not being so much as Batchelor of
Arts, by the means of Doctor *Pierce*
Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, got to be
confer’d upon him the title of Doctor.
This Man was Vicar of *Brackley* in
Northamptonshire, and hath another
Benefice. This Man preaching at
Northampton, had taught, that Prin-
ces had power to put Poll-money
upon their Subjects heads. He being
a Man of a low fortune, conceiv’d
the putting his Sermon in Print might
gain favour at Court, and raise his
fortune higher. It was at the same
time that the business of the Loan
was on foot. In the same Sermon he
called that Loan a Tribute, Taught
that the Kings dutie is first to direct
and make Laws. That nothing may
excuse the Subject from active obedi-
ence, but what is against the Law of God
or Nature, or impossible, that all Anti-
quity was absolutely for absolute o-
be-

' obedience in all civil and temporal
 ' things. And the imposing of poll-
 ' mony by Princes, he justifi'd *one of St.*
Matthew: And in the matter of the
Loan, What a Speech is this, saith
 the Bishop, *he observes the forwardness*
of the Papists to offer double. For this
 Sermon was sent to the Bishop from
 Court, and he required to Licence it;
 not under his Chaplain, but his own
 hand. But he, not being satisfi'd of
 the Doctrine delivered, sent back his
 reasons why he thought not fit to give
 his Approbation: whereupon Bishop
Laud, who understood the whole busi-
 ness, went to answer them in Wri-
 ting. ————— His life in Oxford,
 ' saith Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, was to pick
 ' quarrels in the Lectures of publick
 ' Readers, and to advertise them to the
 ' Bishop of *Durham* that he might fill the
 ' Ears of King *James* with discontent
 ' against the honest men that took pains
 ' in their places, and settled the Truth
 ' (which he called Puritanism) in their
 ' Auditors. He made it his work to
 ' see what Books were in the Press,
 ' and

and to look over Epistles Dedicatory,
 and Prefaces to the Reader, to see
 what faults might be found. 'Twas
 an observation what a Sweet man this
 was like to be, that the first obser-
 vable Act he did, was the marrying of
 the Earl of D. to the Lady R. when she
 had another Husband a Nobleman,
 and divers Children by him. Here he
 tells how, for this very cause, King
James would not a great while endure
 him, till he yielded at last to Bishop
Williams his Importunity, whom not-
 withstanding he straight strove to un-
 dermine, and did at last to purpose:
 for, saith the Arch-bishop. Verily,
 such is his undermining nature, that
 he will under-work any Man in the
 World, so he may gain by it. *He*
call'd in the Bishop of Durham, Roche-
ster, and Oxford, tryed men for such
a purpose, to the answering of my
Reasons, and the whole stile of the
Speech, runs We, We. In my me-
mory, Doctor Harsnet then Bishop of
Chichester, and now of Norwich (as he
came afterwards to be Arch-Bishop of
 York)

' York) preach'd at White-hall upon
 ' Give unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæ-*
 ' *sar's*; a Sermon that was afterwards
 ' burned, teaching that Goods and
 ' Money were *Cæsars*, and so the Kings:
 ' Whereupon King *James* told the
 ' Lords and Commons that he had fai-
 ' led in not adding According to the
 ' Laws and Customs of the Country
 ' wherein they did live. But *Sibthorp*
 ' was for absolutely absolute. So that if
 ' the King had sent to me for all my
 ' Money and Goods, and so to the Cler-
 ' gy, I must by *Sibthorp's* proportion
 ' send him all. If the King should send
 ' to the City of *London* to command all
 ' their Wealth, they were bound to
 ' do it. I know the King is so gracious
 ' he will attempt no such matter; but
 ' if he do it not, the defect is not in
 ' these flattering Divines. Then he
 ' saith, (reflecting again upon the Loan
 ' which *Sibthorp* called a Tribute) ' I
 ' am sorry at heart, the Kings Graci-
 ' ous Majesty should rest so great a
 ' Building on so weak a Foundation,
 ' the Treatise being so slender, and
 without

without substance, but that proceeded from an hungry Man. Then he speaks of his own case as to the licensing this Book, in parallel to the Earl of *Essex* his Divorce, which to give it more authority, *was to be ratified judicially by the Arch-bishop*. He concludes how finally he refused his approbation to this Sermon, and saith, 'It was thereupon carried to the Bishop of London, who gave a great and stately allowance of it, the good Man not being willing that any thing should stick with him that came from Court, as appears by a Book commonly called the seven Sacraments, which was allowed by his Lordship with all the errors, which have been since expunged. And he adds a pretty story of one Doctor *Worral*, the Bishop of London's Chaplain, Scholar good enough, but a free fellow-like man, and of no very tender Conscience, who before it was Licenced by the Bishop, *Sibthorp's* Sermon being brought to him, *hand over head approved it, and subscribed his name*. But afterwards hearing more of it, went

to a Counsel at the *Temple*, who told him, that by that Book there was no *Meum nor Tuum* left in England; and if ever the Tide turn'd, he might come to be bang'd for it: and thereupon *Worral* scraped out his name again, and left it to his Lord to License. Then the Arch-Bishop takes notice of the instructions for that *Loan*. 'Those that refused, to be sent for Souldiers to the King of *Denmark*. Oaths to be administered with whom they had conference; and who dissuaded them, such persons to be sent to prison, &c. He saith that he had complained thrice of *Mountagues* Arminian Book to no purpose: *Cosins* put out his Book of seven Sacraments (strange things) but I knew nothing of it, but as it pleased my Lord of *Durham* and the Bishop of *Bath*, so it went. In conclusion the good Arch-Bishop for refusing this License of *Sibthorps* Sermons, was, by the underworking of his adversaries, first commanded from *Lambeth*, and confined to his house in *Kent*, and afterwards

afterwards sequestred, and a Commission passed to exercise the Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction to the Bishops of *London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford,* and *Bishop Laud* (who from thence arose in time to be the Arch-Bishop.) If I had leisure, how easy a thing it were for to extract out of this Narrative a just parallel of our Author, even almost upon all points: but I am now upon a more serious subject; and therefore shall leave the Application to his own ingenuity; and the good intelligence of the Reader.

About the same time (for I am speaking within the circle 2^d, 3^d, and 4th *Caroli*) that this Book of *Sibthorps*, called *Apostolical Obediente*, was printed; there came out another of the same stamp, intitled *Religion and Allegiance*, by one Doctor *Mantwaring*. It was the substance of two Sermons preached by him at *Whitehall*, beside what of the same nature at his own parish of *Saint Giles*. Therein he delivered for truth,
 That the King is not bound to observe
 the Laws of the Realm concerning

the Subjects rights and liberties, but
 that his Royal Word and Command
 in imposing Loans and Taxes without
 common consent in Parliament, does
 oblige the Subjects Conscience upon
 pain of eternal Damnation. That
 those who refused to pay this Loan,
 offended against the Law of God, and
 the Kings supream Authority, and be-
 came guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty,
 and Rebellion. That the Authority
 of Parliament was not necessary for
 the raising of Aids and Subsidies, and
 the slow proceedings of such great As-
 semblies were not fitted for the sup-
 ply of the States urgent necessities,
 but would rather produce sundry im-
 pediments to the just designs of Prin-
 ces. And after he had been questi-
 oned for this doctrine, nevertheless he
 preached again, That the King had
 right to order all as to him should
 seem good, without any mans consent.
 That the King might, in time of ne-
 cessity, demand Aid, and if the Sub-
 ject did not supply him, the King
 might justly avenge it. That the
 Pro-

Propriety of Estate and Goods was or-
 dinary in the Subject, but extraor-
 dinary in the King: that in case of
 the King's need, he hath right to
 dispose them. He had besides, en-
 tering into comparison, called the refu-
 sers of the Loan, Temporal Recusants,
 and said, the same disobedience that
 they (the Papists as they then called
 them) practise in Spirituals, that or
 worse, some of our side, if ours they be,
 dare to practise in Temporals. And
 he aggravated further upon them under
 the resemblance of *Turks, Jews, Corah,*
Dathan and Ahiram. Which last, said
 he, might as well liken themselves to
 the three Children; or *Theudas and Ju-*
das, the two Incendiaries in the daies
 of *Cesar's* tribute, might as well pre-
 tend their Cause to be like that of the
Maccabees, as what the Refusers al-
 ledged in their own defence.

I should not have been so large in
 these particulars, had they been onely
 single and volatile Sermons, but be-
 cause this was then the Doctrine of
 those persons that pretended to be the

Church of England. The whole Quire
 sung that Tune, and in Read of the
 Common Law of England, and the
 Statutes of Parliament, that part of
 the Clergy had invented these *Ecclesi-
 astical Laws*, which according to their
 predominancy, were sure to be put in
 execution. So that between their own
 Revenue, which must be held *Jure Di-
 vino*, as every thing else that belong'd
 to them; and the Prince's, that was *Ju-
 re Regio*, they had not left an inch of
 propriety for the Subject. It seem'd
 that they had granted themselves *Let-
 ters of Reprisal* against the Laity, for
 the losses of the Church under Henry
 the Eighth, and that they would make
 a greater havock upon their Tempora-
 lities in retaliation. And indeed, ha-
 ving many times since pondred with
 my greatest and earnest impartiality,
 what could be the true reason of the
 spleen that they manifested in those
 dates, on the one hand against the *Pu-
 ritans*, and on the other against the *Gent-
 ry*, (for it was come they tell me, to
Jack Gentleman) I could not devise any
 cause

cause, but that the Puritans had ever since the Reformation, obstructed that liziness and splendor which they enjoyed under the Popes Supremacy, and the Gentry had (sacrilegiously) divided the *Abby-Lands*, and other fat morsels of the Church at the Dissolution, and now was the time to be revenged on them.

While therefore the Kingdom was turned into a Prison, upon occasion of this *Ecclesiastical Loan*, and many of the eminentest of the Gentry of *England* were under restraint, they thought it seasonable to recover once again their antient Glory; and to *Magnificate* the Church with triumphal Pomp and Ceremony. The three Ceremonies that have the Countenance of Law, would not suffice, but they were all upon new Inventions, and happy was he that was endued with that capacity, for he was sure before all others to be prefer'd. There was a *Second Service*, the *Table* set *Altar-wise*, and to be called the *Altar*; *Candles*, *Crucifixes*, *Paintings*, *Images*, *Copes*, *bowing to the East*, *bowing*
U 4 to

to the Altar, and so many several Cringes & Genuflections, that a man unpractised stood in need to entertain both a Dancing-Master and a Remembrancer. And though these things were very uncouth to *English* Protestants, who naturally affect a plainness of fashion, especially in sacred things; yet if those Gentlemen could have contented themselves with their own Formalitie, the Innovation had been more excusable. But many of these Additions, and to be sure, all that had any colour of Law, were so imposed and prest upon others, that a great part of the Nation was en put as it were to fine and ransom upon this account. What Censures, what Excommunications, what Deprivations, what Imprisonments? I cannot represent the misery and desolation, as it hath been represented to me. But wearied out at home, many thousands of his Majesties Subjects, to his and the Nations great loss, thought themselves constrained to seek another habitation; and every Country, even though it were among Savages and Caniballs,

ap-

pear'd more hospitable to them than their own.

And, although I have been told by those that have seen both, that our Church did even *then* exceed the *Romish* in Ceremonies and Decorations; and indeed, several of our Church did thereby frequently mistake their way, and from a *Popish* kind of Worship, fell into the *Roman Religion*; yet I cannot upon my best judgment believe, that that party had generally a design to alter the Religion so far, but rather to set up a new kind of *Papacy* of their own here in *England*. And it seem'd they had to that purpose, provided themselves of a new Religion in *Holland*. It was *Arminianism*, which though it were the *Republican* Opinion there, and so odious to King *James* that it helped on the death of *Barneveldt*, yet now they undertook to accomodate it to Monarchy and Episcopacy. And the choice seem'd not imprudent. For on the one hand, it was removed at so moderate a distance from *Popery*, that they should not disoblige the *Papists* more than
for

formerly, neither yet could the *Puritans* with justice reproach these men as *Romish Catholicks*: and yet, on the other hand, they knew it was so contrary to the antient reformed Doctrine of the Church of *England*, that the *Puritans* would never imbrace it, and so they should gain this pretence further to keep up that convenient and necessary Quarrel against Non-conformity. And accordingly it happened, so that here again was a new *Shibboleth*. And the *Calvinists* were all studiously discountenanced, and none but an *Arminian* was judg'd capable and qualified for imployment in the Church. And though the King did declare, as I have before mentioned, that *Mountagu's Arminian Book* had been the occasion of the Schisms in the Church, yet care was immediately taken, by those of the same robe and party, that he should be the more rewarded and advanced. As also it was in *Manwaring's Case*: who though by Censure in Parliament made incapable of any Ecclesiastical preferment, was straight made Rector of
Stam-

Stamford-Rivers in *Essex*, with a Dispensation to hold too his Living in *St. Giles's*. And all dexterity was practised to propagate the same Opinions, and to suppress all Writings or Discourses to the contrary.

So that those who were of understanding in those dayes, tell me, that a man would wonder to have heard their kind of preaching. How instead of the practical Doctrine which tends to the reforming of Mens Lives and Manners, all their Sermons were a very Mass of *Arminian* Subtilties, of Ceremonies, and Decency, and of *Man-waring* and *Sibthorpianism* brew'd together; besides that in their conversation they thought fit to take some more license the better to *dis-Gibeline* themselves from the *Puritans*. And though there needed nothing more to make them unacceptable to the sober part of the Nation, yet moreover they were so exceeding *pragmatical*, so intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarce any Gentleman might come near the Tayle of their
Mules.

Mules. And many things I perceive of that nature do even yet stick upon the stomachs of the *Old Gentlemen* of those times. For the *English* have been always very tender of their Religion, their Liberty, their Propriety, and (I was going to say) no less of their Reputation. Neither yet do I speak of these things with passion, considering at more distance how natural it is for men to desire to be in Office, and no less natural to grow proud and intractable in Office; and the less a Clergy-man is so, the more he deserves to be commended. But these things before mentioned, grew yet higher, after that Bishop *Laud* was once not only exalted to the See of *Canterbury*, but to be chief Minister. Happy had it been for the King, happy for the Nation, and happy for himself, had he never climbed that Pinnacle. For whether it be or no, that the Clergy are not so well fitted by Education, as others for Political Affairs, I know not; though I should rather think they have advantage above

bove others, and even if they would but keep to their *Bibles*, might make the best Ministers of State in the world; yet it is generally observed that things miscarry under their Government. If there be any Counsel more precipitate, more violent, more rigorous, more extreme than other, that is theirs. Truly I think the reason that God does not bless them in Affairs of State, is, because he never intended them for that employment. Or if Government, and the preaching of the Gospel, may well concur in the same person, God therefore frustrates him, because though knowing better, he seeks and manages his greatness by the lesser and meaner *Maxims*. I am confident the Bishop studied to do both God and his Majesty good service, but alas how utterly was he mistaken. Though so learned, so pious, so wise a Man, he seem'd to know nothing beyond *Ceremonies*, *Arminianism*, and *Manwaring*. With that he begun, and with that ended, and thereby deform'd the whole reign of the best Prince

Prince that ever wielded the *English* Scepter.

For his late Majesty being a Prince truly Pious and Religious, was thereby the more inclined to esteem and favour the Clergy. And thence, though himself of a most exquisite understanding, yet thought he could not trust it better than in their keeping. Where as every man is best in his own Post, and so the Preacher in the Pulpit. But he that will do the Clergies drudgery, must look for his reward in another World. For they having gained this Ascendent upon him, resolv'd whatever became on't to make their best of him; and having made the whole business of State their *Arminian* Jangles, and the Persecution for Ceremonies, did for recompence assign him that imaginary absolute Government, upon which Rock we all ruined.

For now was come the last part of the *Archbishops* indiscretion; who having strained those strings so high here, and all at the same time, which no wise man ever did; he moreover had

a mind to try the same dangerous Experiment in *Scotland*, and sent thither the Book of the *English Liturgy* to be imposed upon them. What followed thereupon, is yet within the compass of most Mens memories. And how the War broke out, and then to be sure Hell's broke loose. Whether it were a War of Religion, or of Liberty, is not worth the labour to enquire. Which-soever was at the top, the other was at the bottom; but upon considering all, I think the Cause was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have trusted God; they ought and might have trusted the King with that whole matter. The *Arms of the Church are Prayers and Tears*, the Arms of the Subjects are Patience and Petitions. The King himself being of so accurate and piercing a judgment, would soon have felt where it stuck. For men may spare their pains where Nature is at work, and the world will not go the faster for our driving. Even as his present Majesty's happy Restoration did it self; so all things

things else happen in their best and proper time, without any need of our officiousness.

But after all the fatal consequences of that Rebellion, which can only serve as Sea-marks unto wise Princes to avoid the Causes, shall this sort of Men still vindicate themselves as the most zealous Assertors of the Rights of Princes? They are but at the best *well-meaning Zealots*. Shall, to decline so pernicious Counsels, and to provide better for the quiet of Government, be traduced as the Author does here, under these odious terms of *for-saking the Church, and delivering up the Church*? Shall these Men always presume to usurp to themselves that venerable stile of the *Church of England*? God forbid. The *Independants* at that rate would not have so many distinct Congregations as they. There would be *Sibthorps-Church*, and *Manwaring-Church*, and *Mountagues-Church*, and a whole Bed-roll more, whom for decencies-sake I abstain from naming. And every Man that could invent a
new

new Opinion, or a new Ceremony, or a new Tax, should be a new Church of *England*.

Neither, as far as I can discern, have this sort of the Clergy since his Majesties return, given him better encouragement to steer by their Compass. I am told, that preparatory to that, they had frequent meetings in the City, I know not whether in *Grub-street*, with the Divines of the other party, and that there in their Feasts of Love, they promised to forget all former Offences, to lay by all Animofities, that there should be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, all Meekness, Charity, and Condescension. His Majesty I am sure sent over his Gracious Declaration of *Liberty to tender Consciences*, and upon his coming over, seconded it with his Commission under the broad Seal, for a Conference betwixt the two parties, to prepare things for an Accommodation, that he might confirm it by his Royal Authority. Hereupon what do they? Notwithstanding this happy Conjunction: of his

Mastie's Restauration, which had put all
 Men into so good a humour, that upon
 a little moderation & temper of things,
 the Nonconforminists could not have
 stuck ou; some of these Men so con-
 triv'd it, that there should not be the
 least abatement to bring them off with
 Conscience, and (which insinuates in-
 to all men) some little Reputation.
 But to the contrary; several unneces-
 sary additions were made, only because
 they knew they would be more ingrate-
 ful & *stigmatical* to the Nonconformists.
 I remember one in the *Letany*, where to
False Doctrine and Heresie, they added
Schism, though it were to spoil the *Mu-
 sick* and cadence of the period; but
 these things were the best. To show
 that they were Men like others, even
 cunning Men, revengeful Men, they
 drill'd things on, till they might pro-
 cure a Law, wherein besides all the
 Conformity that had been of former-
 times enacted, there might be some
 new Conditions imposed on those that
 should have, or hold any Church-Li-
 vings, such as they assur'd themselves,
 that

that rather than swallow, the Nonconformists would disgorge all their Benefices. And accordingly it succeeded; several thousands of those Ministers being upon one memorable day outed of their subsistence. His Majesty in the meantime, although they had thus far prevailed to frustrate his Royal Intentions, had reinstated the Church in all its former Revenues, Dignities, and Advantages; so far from the Authors mischievous aspersion of ever thinking of converting them to his own use, that he restored them free from what was due to him by Law upon their first admission. So careful was he, *because all Government must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage*, to pay them, even what they ought. But I have observed, that if a Man be in the Churches debt once, 'tis very hard to get an acquittance: And these men never think they have their full Rights, unless they Reign. What would they have had more? They rowl'd on a flood of wealth, and yet in matter of a Lease, would make no difference be-

twixt a Nonconformist; and one of their own fellow sufferers, who had ventur'd his life, and spent his Estate for the King's service. They were restor'd to Parliament, and to take their places with the King and the Nobility. They had a new *Liturgy* to their own hearts desire; And to cumulate all this happiness, they had this new Law against the *Fanaticks*. All they had that could be devised in the World to make a Clergy-man good natur'd.

Nevertheless after all their former sufferings, and after all these new enjoyments and acquisitions, they have proceeded still in the same track. The matter of Ceremonies, to be sure, hath not only exercised their ancient rigour & severity, but hath been a main ingredient of their publick Discourses, of their Sermons, of their Writings. I could not (though I do not make it my work after a great example, to look over *Epistles' Dedicatory*) but observe by chance the Title page of a Book 'tother day, as an *Emblem* how much some of them do neglect the Scripture in respect

spect to their darling Ceremonis. A *Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of England* by A. Sparrow, D. D. *Bishop of Exon. With the Form of Consecration of a Church or Chapel, and of the place of Christian Burial.* By Lancelot Andrews late Lord Bishop of Winchester. Sold by Robert Pawlet at the Sign of the Bible in Chancery Lane. These surely are worthy cares for the Fathers of the Church.

But to let these things alone; How have they of later years demean'd themselves to his Majesty, although our Author urges their immediate dependance on the King to be a great obligation he hath upon their Loyalty and Fidelity? I have heard that some of them, when a great Minister of State grew burdensome to his Majesty and the Nation, stood almost in defiance of his Majesties good pleasure, and fought it out to the uttermost in his defence. I have been told that some of them in a matter of *Divorce*, wherein his Majesty desired that Justice might be done to the party agriev'd,

opposed him vigorously, though they made bold too with a point of Conscience in the case, and went against the Judgment of the best Divines of all parties. It hath been observed, that whensoever his Majesty hath had the most urgent occasions for supply, others of them have made it their business to trinkle with the *Members of Parliament*, for obstructing it, unless the King would buy it with a new Law against the Fanaticks. And hence it is that the Wisdom of his Majesty and the Parliament must be exposed to after ages for such a *Superfæation of Acts* in his Reign about the same business. And no sooner can his Majesty upon his own best Reasons try to obviate this inconvenience, but our Author, who had before out-shot *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring* in their own Bows, is now for retrenching his Authority, and moreover calumniates the State with a likelihood, and the reasons thereof of *the return of Popery* into this Nation. And this hath been his first Method by the *Fanaticks*
raising

raising disturbance: whereupon, if I have raked farther into things than I would have done, the Author's Indiscretion will, I hope, excuse me, and gather all the blame for reviving those things which were to be buried in Oblivion. But, by what appears, I cannot see that there is any probability of disturbance in the State, but by men of his spirit and principles.

The Second way whereby the Fanatick party, he saith, may at last work the ruine of the Church, is *by combining with the Atheists, for their Union is like the mixture of Nitre and Charcoal, it carries all before it without mercy or resistance.* So it seems, when you have made Gun-powder of the Atheists and Fanatics, we are like to be blown up with Popery. And so will the Larks too. But his zeal spends it self most against the *Atheists*, because they use to *jeer the Parsons*. That they may do, and no Atheists neither. For really, while Clergy men will, having so serious an office, play the *Drolls* and the Boon-companions, and make merry

with the Scriptures, not onely among themselves, but in Gentlemen's company, 'tis impossible but that they should meet with, at least, an unlucky Repartee sometimes, and grow by degrees to be a tayle, and contempt to the people. Nay, even that which our Athour always magnifies, the Reputation, the Interest, the secular grandure of the Church, is indeed the very thing which renders them ridiculous to many, and looks as improper and buffoonish, as to have seen the Porter lately in the good *Doctors Cassock* and Girdle. For, so they tell me, that there are no where more Atheists than at *Rome*, because men seeing that Princely garb and Pomp of the Clergy, and observing their life and manners, think therefore the meaner of Religion. For certainly, the Reputation and Interest of the Clergy, was first gained by abstracting themselves from the world, attending their Callings, Humility, strictness of Doctrine, and the same strictness in Conversation; and things are best preserved by the same means they were at first

first attained. But if our Author had been as concern'd against Atheisme, as he is against their disrespect of his function, he should have been content that the Fanatick Preachers might have spent some of their *Pulpit-sweat* upon the Atheists, and made a noise in their ears, about *Faith, Communion with God, attendance upon Ordinances*, which he himself jeers at so pleasantly. Neither do I like upon the same reasons his manner of Discourse with the Atheists, where he complains that ours are not like those good Atheists of former times, who never did thrust themselves into publick cares and concerns, 'mind-
'ing nothing but Love, Wine, and
'Poetry. Nor in another place, 'Put
'the case the Clergy were Cheats and
'Juglers, yet it must be allowed they
'are necessary Instruments of State to
'aw the Common People into fear and
'obedience, because nothing else can
'so effectually inflave them ('tis this
it seems our Author would be at) 'as
'the fear of invisable powers, and the
'dismall apprehensions of the world to
come ;

'come: and for this very reason;
 'though there were no other, it is fit
 'they should be allowed the same ho-
 'nour and respect, as would be ac-
 'knowledged their due, if they were
 'sincere and honest men. No Atheist
 could have said better. How mendicant
 a cause has he here made of it; they will
 say, They see where the shoe wrings
 him, and that though this be some in-
 genuity in him, yet it is but little Po-
 licy. Nay, perhaps they will say, That
 they are no Atheists neither, but only,
 I know not by what Fate, every day,
 one or other of the Clergy does, or
 saith, some so ridiculous and foolish
 thing, or some so pritty accident befalls
 them, that in our Authors words, a
man must be very splenetick that can refrain
from laughter. I would have quoted
 the page here, but that the Author has,
 I think, for evasion sake, omitted to
 number them in this whole Preface.
 But whether there be any Atheists or
 no, which I question more than Witches,
 I do not for all this take our Author to
 to be one, though some would conclude

it out of his Principles, others out of his Expressions. Yet really, I think he hath done that sort of men so much service in his Books, by his ill handling, and while he personates one party, making all Religion ridiculous, that they will never be able to requite him but in the same manner. He hath opened them a whole Treasury of words and sentences, universally applicable; where they may rife or chuse things, which their pitiful wit, as he calls it, would never have been able to invent and flourish. But truly, as the simple *Parliament 5^o Eliz.* never imagined what consequence that clause in the *Wednesday Fast* would have to *Puritanism*, neither did he what his *Periods* would have to *Atheism*, and yet though he is so more excusable, I hope, I may have the same leave on him, as he on that *Parliament*, to censure his Impertinence. To close this; I know a Lady that chid her Master of the Horse for correcting the *Page* that had sworn a great Oath. For, saith she, *The Boy did therein show only the Generosity of his Courage*.

rage, and his acknowledgement of a Deity.
 And indeed, he hath approv'd his Religion, and justified himself from Atheism much after the same manner.

The third way and last (which I being tired, am very glad of) by which the Fanaticks may raise Disturbances, and so *introduce Popery*, is by joyning crafty and sacrilegious States-men into the Confederacy. But really here he doth speak concerning King, and Counsellors, at such a rate, and describe and characterize some men so, whomsoever he intends, that though I know there are no such, I dare not touch, it is too hazardous. 'Tis true he passes his Complement ill-favouredly enough.

' The Church has at present an impregnable affiance in the wisdom, &c.
 ' of so gracious a Prince, that is not
 ' capable of such Counsels, should they
 ' be suggested to him: though certainly
 ' ly no man that is worthy to be admitted to his Majesties Favour or Privacy;
 ' can be supposed so fool-hardy or presumptuous as to offer such weak and
 ' dishonourable Advice to so wise and
 ' able

'able a Prince; Yet Princes are mor-
 'tal, and if ever hereafter, (and some
 'time or other it must happen) the
 'Crown should chance to settle upon
 'a young and unexperienced head, this
 'is usually the first thing in which
 'such Princes are abused by their Kee-
 'pers and Guardians, &c. But this
 Complement is no better at best, than
 if discoursing with a man of another, I
 should take him by the Beard. Upon
 such occasions in company, we use to
 ask, Sir, *Whom do you mean?* I am
 sure our Author takes it alwayes for
 granted, that his Answerer intends him
 upon more indefinite and less direct
 provocations. But our Author does
 even personate some men as speaking at
 present against the Church, 'They will
 'intangle your affairs, indanget your
 'safety, hazard your Crown. All the
 'reward you shall have to compensate
 'your misfortunes, by following
 'Church Counsels, shall be that a few
 'Church-men, or such like people, shall
 'cry you up for a Saint or a Martyr.
 Still *your, your,* as if it were a close
 dis-

discourse unto His Majesty himself. Though if this were the worst that they said, or that the Author fathers upon them, I wish the King might never have better Counsellors about him. But if the Author be secure, for the present, in his Majesties Reign; fears not Popery, not forsaking the Church, not assuming the Church Revenues, why is he so provident? why put things in men's heads they never thought of? why stir such an odious, seditious, impertinent, unseasonable discourse? why take this very minute of time, but that he hath mischief, to say no worse, in his heart? He had no such remote conceit (for all his talk) of an *Infant* coming to the Crown. He is not so weak but knows too much, and is too well instructed, to speak to so little purpose. That would have been like a set of *Elisabeth Players*, that in the Country having worn out and over-acted all the Playes they brought with them from *London*, laid their wits together to make a new one of their own. No less man than *Julius Caesar* was the Argument

ment; and one of the chief parts was *Moses*, perswading *Julius Caesar* not to make War against his own Countrey, nor pass *Rubicon*. If our Author did not speak of our present times (to do which nevertheless had been sufficiently false and absurd) but writ all this meerly out of his Providence for after ages, I shall no more call him *Bayes*, for he is just such a *second Moses*. I ask pardon, if I have said too much, but I shall deserve none, if I meddle any further with so improbable and dangerous a business.

To conclude, the Author gives us one ground more, and perhaps more *Seditiously* insinuated than any of the former; that is, if it should so prove, that is, if the *Fanaticks* by their *wanton and unreasonable opposition* to the *ingenious and moderate Discipline* of the *Church of England*, shall give their *Governours* too much reason to suspect that they are never to be kept in order by a *milder, & more gentle Government* than that of the *Church of Rome*, and force them at last to scourge them into better man-
ners,

ners, with the Briars and Thorns of their Discipline. It seems then that the Discipline contended about, is worth such an alteration. It seems that he knows something more than I did believe of the Design in the late times before the War. Whom doth he mean by *our Governours*? the King; No, for he is a single person. The Parliament, or the Bishops.

I have now done, after I have (which is I think due) given the Reader, and the Authour, a short account how I came to write this Book, and in this manner. First of all, I was offended at the presumption and arrogance of his stile; whereas there is nothing either of Wit, or Eloquence in all his Books, worthy of a Readers, and more unfit for his own, taking notice of. Then his infinite *Tautology* was burdensome, which seem'd like marching a Company round a Hill upon a pay-day so often, till if the Muster-master were not attentive, they might receive the pay of a Regiment. All the variety of his Treat is *Pork* (he knows

knows the story) but so little disguised by good Cookery, that it discovers the miserableness, or rather the penury of the Host. When I observed how he inveighs against the *Trading-part* of the Nation, I thought he deserved to be within the *five mile Act*, and not to come within that distance of any Corporation. I could not patiently see how irreverently he treated Kings and Princes, as if they had been no better than *King Phyz*, and *King ush* of *Brandford*. I thought his profanation of the Scripture intolerable ; For though he alledges that 'tis only in order to shew how it was misapplied by the Fanaticks, he might have done that too, and yet preserved the Dignity and Reverence of those Sacred Writings, which he hath not done; but on the contrary, he hath in what is properly his own, taken the most of all his Ornaments, and Imbellishments thence in a scurrilous and sacrilegious stile; insomuch that were it honest, I will undertake out of him to make a better, that is a more rediculous and

LnA Y pro-

profaner Book, than *all the Friendly Debates* bound up together. Methought I never saw a more bold and wicked attempt, than that of reducing *Grace*, and making it a meer *Fable*, of which he gives us *the Moral*. I was sorry to see that even Prayer could not be admitted to be a *Virtue*, having thought hitherto it had been a *Grace*, and a peculiar gift of the Spirit; But I considered, that that Prayer ought to be discouraged, in order to prefer the *Liturgy*. He seem'd to speak so little like a Divine in all those matters, that the Poet might as well have pretended to be the *Bishop Davenant*, and that description of the Poets of *Prayer* and *Praise* was better than our Authors on the same Subject. *Canto the 6th*, where he likens Prayer to the Ocean;

*For Prayer the Ocean is where diversly
Men steer their course each to a several
coast.*

*Where all our interests so discordant lye,
That half begwinds, by which the rest are
lost.*

And

And Praise he compares to the Union of Fanaticks and Atheists, &c. that is *Gunpowder*; Praise is *Devotion* fit for *mighty minds*, &c.

Its utmost force, like Powder is unknown.

*And though weak Kings excess of praise
may fear,*

*Yet when 'tis here, like Powder, dan-
gerous grown,*

*Heavens vault receives, what would
the Palace tear.*

Indeed all *Astragen* appear'd to me the better *Scheme of Religion*. But it is unnecessary here to recapitulate all, one by one, what I have in the former Discourse taken notice of. I shall only add, what gave, if not the greatest, yet the *last* impulse to my writing. I had observed in his first Book, p. 57. that he had said 'Some pert and pragmatistical Divines, had filled the world with a Buzz and noise of the Divine Spirit; which seemed to me so horribly irreverent, as if he had taken similitude from the *Hum and Buz*

of the *Humble Bee* in the *Rehearsal*.

In the same Book, I have before mentioned, that most unsafe passage our Saviour, being not only in an hot fit of zeal, but in a seeming fury and transport of Passion. And striving to unhook himself hence. p. 152. of his Second Book, he swallows it deeper, saying, *Our blessed Saviour did in that action take upon him the Person and Priviledge of a Jewish Zealot. Take upon him the Person, that is Personam induere.* And what part did he play? Of a Jewish Zealot,

The Second Person of the Trinity (may I repeat these things without offence) to take upon him the person of a Jewish Zealot, that is, of a notorious Rogue and Cut-throat.

This seemed to proceed from too slight an Apprehension and knowledge of the duty we owe to our Saviour. And last of all, in this Preface, as before quoted, he saith, the *Nonconformist Preachers do spend most of their Pulpit-sweat in making a noise about Communion with God.* So that there is not one Person of the Trinity that he hath not done

done despighe to: and lest he should have distinct Communion with the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, for which he mocks his Answerer; he hath spoken evil distinctly of the Father, distinctly of the Son, and distinctly of the Holy Ghost. That only remain'd behind, wherein our Author might surpass the Character given to *Aretine*, a famous man of this faculty-

*Qui giace ill Aretino
Chi de tutti mal disse fuor d' Iddio
Ma di questo si scusa perche no'l co-
nobbe.*

*Here lies Aretine,
Who spoke evil of all, except God only;
But of this he begs excuse, because he
did not know him.*

And now I have done. And I shall think my self largely recompensed for this trouble, if any one that hath been formerly of another mind, shall learn by this Example, that it is not impossible to be merry
and

and angry as long time as I have been
writing, without profaning and viola-
ting those things which are and ought
to be most sacred.

F I N I S.

